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Only a miracle will halt missiles deployment

...eployment of Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles will go ahead at the end of ...ear despite demonstrations unless ...is a last-minute miracle at the Ge... ...alks.

...re have been requests for the de...ent deadline to be postponed ...oth West and East. (East Bloc fo... ministers issued an appeal from ...eeting in Sofia).

...ere any prospect of this advice ...aken? If so, would prospects at ...a be improved?

... idea of holding more talks rather ...eploying more missiles is not as ... as official Western spokesman ...

... Pershing 2 in particular marks a ... the direction of a new technolo... ...nd political dimension.

...he Soviet Union replies by de...g short-range missiles with even ...r warning, as it has threatened to ...e decision whether to press the ...n will increasingly be entrusted to ...uters.

...e risk *of a nuclear strike as a result* ...technical or human error will in...e accordingly.

...sides, many experts feel deploying ...ershing 2 has doubtful military va... Concentrating Pershing 2s in the ...al Republic of Germany also revi...d Soviet fears.

...se risks have only recently been ...ly apparent to Western public opi... ...and, no doubt, to the powers that ...

...t for them to abandon without fur... ado so *many negotiation points* ...ld indeed be something of a miracle ...eneva, and politicians cannot afford ...ly on miracles.

... other words, neither the *current* ... government nor any other could ...alling at this stage for a postpone...

...would forfeit credibility and impose ...rden on Nato that would take the ...to the brink of break-up. Yet the ...ricans would be most unlikely to ...y their deadlines.

...en if Bonn's allies were prepared to ... to any such demand a further ...stion would arise. Would it be a suitable means of arriving at a compromise after all?

Experience has shown that compliance toward Moscow seldom pays, especially when Moscow is applying the pressure.

This applies in even greater measure to the abyss of mistrust that has opened up between the superpowers.

But Western political options that will still be possible even once deployment has got under way carry greater conviction than such speculation.

Three prerequisites would nonetheless first need fulfilling.

The first point to be made, and convincingly, both to domestic and to Soviet opinion, is that the beginning of deployment, especially the first nine Pershing 2s, must nor be equated with the deployment of all 108.

It might properly be interpreted as a political signal, standing not only for Nato's determination to abide by its decision but also for its readiness to take a more flexible approach.

Even by the terms of the Nato plan missile deployment is not due for completion until 1988. Depending on the progress of further negotiations it could be slowed down or even scrapped.

But that would only be credible if, secondly, Western opinion and Moscow were convinced that Nato is well aware of the extra risks and would sooner avoid them.

This is a reference to the risks that arise as soon as quantity becomes quality and it is no longer a matter of the first nine Pershing 2s or a few more.

Nato must be no less emphatic that the Soviet build-up of SS-20s is likewise *an intolerable risk.*

Negotiations would need to be conducted to reach agreement on the number of SS-20s that marked the transition from Soviet missile modernisation (of systems previously in being) to an additional arms build-up.

The third prerequisite is that Western public opinion must not succumb to resignation once deployment has begun.

That will be the time when it is most important to peacefully demonstrate that the West will never be prepared to agree to or accept without resistance any further nuclear arms build-up.

If Bonn agrees to the Pershing 2 de*ployment go-ahead on these terms it will* be in a good position to urge Washington to take the Kremlin at its word more expressly and flexibly than in the past.

The Soviet Union must in particular be given to understand that its many public offers cannot be taken seriously as long as they are not made at the Geneva talks.

A further point to be stressed is that the deployment of the first Pershing 2s and Cruise missiles cannot objectively and in the circumstances be said to war*rant any of the Soviet responses threatened.*

Besides, threats of more and more weapons at some stage cease to have any further effect.

Herr Genscher's talks with Mr Gromyko in Vienna showed that Moscow too is still wondering what to do once deployment has got under way.

Will Washington continue to aim for a compromise? There are signs that it might. Officially the United States has said it is willing to continue the talks *and possibly to withdraw missiles already deployed.*

President Reagan has lately acted in greater moderation than might have been feared in the wake of his speeches on and against the Soviet Union.

Yet Mr Reagan's past rhetoric is still not past history. Great effort will still be needed if the minimum of trust is to be restored that is essential if disarmament terms are to be possible.

European governments in general, and Bonn in particular, must succeed in *urging Washington to go ahead and* make the effort.

Only then can they hope, regardless of demonstrations, to keep in touch with public opinion in the long term.

Hans Gerlach

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 21 October 1983)

IN THIS ISSUE



Demonstrators in Bonn

Several thousand anti-missile demonstrators used this mock missile to make their point in Bonn. The protest was part of a series against the deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in the Federal Republic. There was no violence. **(See page 3.)**

(Photo: Sven Simon)

Beirut massacre forces fresh look at peace-keeping role

Washington and Paris are taking good care not to say who they think is to blame for the bomb raid on the headquarters of US and French peacekeeping forces in Beirut.

No-one knows for sure who bombed the US embassy in Beirut in much the same way last April. The modus operandi may mean the same organisation is responsible; but that is not certain.

There is no shortage of possible culprits. They include just about everyone *except the Christian militias* and Israel.

It could be Walid Jumblatt's Druzes or other Muslim groups in Lebanon. It could be Palestinians, Gaddafi's Libya, Khomeini's Iran, Assad's Syria or, behind the scenes, the Soviet Union.

That the two raids took place more or less simultaneously indicates experienced operators; that both US and French forces were attacked indicates that Iran might be responsible.

Yet when one considers who is most likely to benefit, the answer is surely Syria rather than *Iran. The US military* pressence is currently the greatest handicap facing President Assad.

This is assuming that Syria's eventual aim in keeping the civil war going in Lebanon and Syrian troops stationed in the country is gradually to assume full control over its neighbour to the west.

The only logical aim of the bombing is to persuade America to withdraw its forces from the Lebanon, with Britain, *France and Italy following suit.*

The US government has reacted promptly in ordering reinforcements to be flown in. So has France, with Presi*dent Mitterrand flying to Beirut.*

Neither plans to abandon their role in Lebanon. But what is it? To protect the Gemayel government? To enable all Is*raeli and Syrian forces to withdraw* simultaneously?

Are they there to restore peace in the Lebanese civil war? To pave the way for a wider peace settlement in the Middle East?

Their role is improvised, the extent of their task unclear and their prospects of success even more uncertain.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 October 1983)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

The Soviets hide their hand behind the security debate

The Federal Republic faces two dangers. One is the Soviet bid to push the Americans out of Europe and end the basis on which Bonn pursues a foreign policy of balance towards East and West.

The other, closely inter-related, involves the protest movement. This is a domestic dispute which Nobel laureate Heinrich Böll hopes will not become a religious war.

The lever by means of which the Soviet Union hopes to come substantially closer to its long-cherished dream of pushing the Americans out of Europe is the fear of nuclear weapons.

The Kremlin has proved extremely adept at concealing its political objective of creating a rift in the Atlantic pact.

It has hidden it behind the debate on limited war, missile speeds, overkill capacity and a European balance of power including the British and French nuclear missiles.

The Kremlin has naturally benefited from strokes of good luck. It probably didn't realise from the outset the political opportunities opened up by the SS-20 build-up.

The West's need of missile modernisation could hardly have come at a more inconvenient moment for Nato.

It was first seen by Helmut Schmidt and incorporated by him, Mr Carter, M. Giscard d'Estaing and Mr Callaghan in the dual-track Nato decision.

Herr Schmidt and Mr Callaghan needed the talks part of the decision to reassure their left-wing supporters, whereas Mr Carter accepted it in the expectation of being able to put to good use at the conference table US missiles that had yet to be deployed.

Missile modernisation came at an unfortunate juncture for the West because the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan forestalled the ratification of Salt 2 as a mainstay of subsequent arms control agreements.

It also dealt detente a serious blow. The result was disunity in the Western alliance, with the differences of interest between Americans and Europeans, especially the Germans, more readily apparent than ever.

The Germans, who had hoped to leave the East-West clash behind them by means of detente, felt they had found a niche between the temporarily cooperative superpowers in which the edge could be taken off the division of Germany.

They resisted and to this day remain opposed to a reversion to the East-West conflict of old, which they felt President Reagan symbolised more strongly than President Brezhnev.

The rhetorical aggression of President Reagan's policy of strength pursued to offset what he felt was US inferiority in strategic nuclear weapons gave rise to fresh fears.

They were fears of a new and even more dangerous turn of the arms race screw. They brought to the surface what had previously been concealed: the illogicalities, contradictions and ambiguities of Nato nuclear strategy.

Doubts as to the credibility of US guarantees of protection prompted a recollection of German sovereignty and German interests.

The initial Russian refusal even to consider Nato's offer of talks further fuelled doubts and fears.

Helmut Schmidt sensed the dangers that lay ahead in Moscow, in Washington and at home. He undertook a move that entailed risks merely suspected at the time and now clearly apparent.

He flew to Moscow in 1980 as a mediator (a term he initially disclaimed) and persuaded the Kremlin leaders to agree to talks.

But neither he nor his successor, Chancellor Kohl, met with similar success in Washington. They failed to persuade the Americans to make an offer acceptable to the Soviet Union.

This sowed the seed of convictions that the Americans had overstepped the mark of the dual-track Nato decision and were to blame for the failure of the Geneva talks.

This is a conviction most members of the peace movement and the SPD are no longer prepared to set aside. They fail to appreciate that President Reagan has moved some distance away from his original viewpoint.

The Russians likewise showed signs of flexibility once Mr Andropov took over the reins of power in the Kremlin. But their current behaviour leads one to suspect it might be no more than a show of flexibility.

The Kremlin naturally knows it cannot prevent the deployment of new US missiles in Europe. But if the Russians wanted, they could soon come to terms on mutual limitation of medium-range missiles.

But they stand to lose nothing by waiting until the Americans have started to deploy their new missiles.

Deployment will take time and can only be undertaken gradually. It is sure to intensify divisions within Nato and cannot fail to enable the Russians to score points in the propaganda war.

Even if the Russians don't expect the peace movement to prevent the deployment of US missiles at the last minute they may still hope that the Americans will first have to come to terms with their allies and with parts of US and Western public opinion.

The Americans might be forced to negotiate on the extent of deployment and to make a number of prior concessions in Geneva.

In the meantime the Russians have gained an alibi for deploying new short-range missiles in Eastern Europe. This was planned in any case as part of the Soviet arms build-up but can now be claimed as missile modernisation.

They are also in a position to think over whether they want to help President Reagan to secure re-election by means of disarmament progress.

At the same time they are putting Mr Reagan to the test. They could always sue for terms as currently available, but in all probability they might do better.

That is the aim behind Moscow's sophisticated, exactly-dosed twofold strategy.

While the Soviet Union has threatened to abandon or adjourn the Geneva talks, giving rise to fears of a fresh ice age in world affairs, Mr Gromyko and his East Bloc opposite numbers in Sofia have made the West an offer.

They have offered to continue the talks even if agreement is not reached provided the United States and Nato dispense with the deployment schedule and postpone the stationing of the new US missiles.

This move put Bonn's For[eign Minis]ter, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, [...] in his talks with Mr Gromyko.

The call for deployment to b[e postpo]ned is endorsed not only b[y the SPD] and the peace movement; p[...] to enjoy majority support a[mong the ge]neral public.

The call for postponement [would, of] course, be pointless if the R[ussians did] not want to negotiate on US [missiles in] Europe in any case.

Postponement would, h[owever, be] unacceptable other than a[...] by a Soviet counter-concession [such as] an embargo on the deployment [and ma]nufacture of SS-20 missiles.

So it is up to the Russians t[o outline] in greater detail what they m[ean by rea]diness to unilaterally freeze [medium-]range missiles in their part of [...].

They have demonstrated by th[e] way in which they have be[en able to] adapt to the tenor of opinion [...] ny how adept the are at return[ing balls] lobbed into the Soviet court by [the Fe]deral Republic.

The peace movement and th[e SPD] will now feel encouraged agai[n, but] would do well to take a closer l[ook to] see whether the Soviet proposal [is meant] seriously or merely intended as [a means] of laying blame at America's do[or].

The peace movement's cur[rent pro]blem is not one of accepting Co[mmunist] support. It is one of assuming [Soviet] policy to be harmless and of s[...] tion in respect of Germany's [indepen]dent options.

That is not even to mention [the idea] of saving the world: a combi[nation of] German idealism, Christian fu[ndamen]talism and a new nationalism [that is] fraught with problems for bo[th home] and foreign affairs.

Dieter Sch[...]

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 Oc[tober 1983])

Guessing what the Kremlin really wants

The writer, Professor Klaus Mehnert, is a journalist and author specialising in the Soviet Union and China.

Fine words have been exchanged about German-American friendship, the tricentennial of German migration to America and the laudable part Germans have played in the history of the United States.

But mention of traditional ties of friendship has no effect on demonstrators besieging US military installations in Germany.

It does nothing to solve the problems faced by 250,000 US servicemen and their families and facilities that look almost as though they were in enemy territory.

So I shall not be dealing with the past three centuries but with the present: with 1983.

No-one can say for sure what the Kremlin's aims are in world affairs. But assumptions may be made by putting oneself in the Soviet leaders' position and not just thinking in terms of Western views on the Kremlin.

By the Kremlin I mean not the Russians. Ordinary Russians think mainly in terms of their own problems and not of world affairs.

I mean the minute group, infinitesimal in comparison with the public, that determines the course of foreign policy. What, then, does the Kremlin want?

There are three possibilities. One is world revolution; the second is war; and the third is hegemony.

The answer most often given is the first: world revolution. It is a point borne out by10,000 speeches and essays.

But whereas world revolution seemed at hand in the chaotic years following the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the revolution in Germany and Austria-Hungary, it has since receded into an increasingly nebulous distance.

In their speeches Soviet politicians invariably continue to refer to world revolution — understandably so, given that their legitimation is based on the fiction that the Kremlin is leading the nations of the world to communism and paradise on earth.

Besides, it is extremely convenient for Soviet foreign policy to have at its disposal Communist Parties everywhere, and their fellow-travellers, as means of influencing both domestic and foreign policies of other countries.

The main reason for the Kremlin's scepticism regarding world revolution is, as I see it, the experience it has gained in the past of spreading Communism.

What has become of post-war Communist Eastern Europe from the Baltic to the Adriatic and of Red China? Yugoslavia broke loose from Soviet tutelage in1948 under Tito, and there have been rumblings in most other East Bloc countries.

What the Kremlin has witnessed for the past two years in Poland, where almost the entire nation hates the Soviet Union and looks to Rome rather than Moscow, can hardly be termed en[coura]ging.

What happened in China, whe[re only] a few years after the Commun[ists took] over power the government was [already] at loggerheads with Moscow, m[ust like]wise make any Soviet leader fe[el that the] blessings of world revolution are [a moc]kery.

The second possibility abo[ut the] Kremlin's ambition, war, is one I [prefer] not to go into in detail. Whatev[er opi]nion one may have of the Krem[lin lea]ders, they are no fools.

They are well aware that a third [world] war, even if they launch the first [strike,] can only end in mankind, includ[ing the] Soviet Union, going up in a blaz[ing in]ferno of fire and contamination.

The Soviet leaders certainly ha[ve no] intention of committing suicide.

That leaves the third option, wh[ich I] consider the likeliest. It is tha[t the] Kremlin's objective is what the An[cient] Greeks called hegemony.

Hegemony is its aim partly bec[ause]

Continued on page 3

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HOME AFFAIRS

Missiles protests calm but testing time still to come

[D]emonstrations against the missiles have been marked more by prayer [and] song than by broken windows so [far]. The rehearsed peacefulness on both [sides] has paid off.

[Bu]t logic dictates that a peaceful be[ginn]ing to the demonstration season is [no] reason to sound the all clear.

The closer deployment comes, the [mor]e dominant will become the radicals. [The] peaceful elements will become more [iso]lated as the struggle becomes more [ho]peless.

Already some protesters are railing [aga]inst those who want to maintain con[tac]t with the police. Contact means the [po]lice are kept aware of what is taking [pla]ce. There would be real trouble if [dem]onstrations took place where they [wer]e not expected.

The intentions of some groupings re[vea]l the unrest below the peaceful [sur]face of the protest movement.

One example is the Hamburg [Gr]eens/Alternative List (GAL) which is [no] longer satisfied with non-violent [blo]ckades of military establishments. It [ha]s called for a blockade of the giant [pu]blishers, Springer.

This would be not only an attack on [th]e freedom of the Press, it would also [de]stroy the consensus within the protest [mo]vement.

Unity is fragile, in any case. There are [alr]eady signs of exhaustion because of [the] size of the campaign and the forms it [ha]s taken.

At the beginning of the peace week, twice as many people turned out to watch national league soccer matches as took to the streets for demonstrations.

The human peace chains, masquerades, distribution of toys and banging of pots and pans are also confusing elements. The demonstrations are only a step away from turning into a political happening.

The public is still more impressed by the earnestness of the demonstrators than the devices they use to get attention.

The quest for the "ideal of peace" (as Hermann Hesse described it) deserves respect.

But the peace drive calls for a comparison of reality and utopia. It calls for serious thought on the consequences of rejecting deployment — especially in the face of a new tide of demonstrations.

Many questions would have to be raised in the unlikely event that the deployment can really be stopped:

- What would happen to Bonn's credibility and scope of foreign policy action if it went back on its word?
- What cracks would develop in the foundation of security, the Western Alliance, if Nato were forced to drop its dual strategy against the wish of most of its members?
- What effects would the Soviet monopoly in intermediate range missiles in Europe have in case of a political crisis?
- What would remain of the arms control instruments if the West were to reward the tripling of Soviet SS-20 missiles during the past four years by unilaterally waiving a deployment of its own missiles?

Businesslike discussions are impossible at the moment. The absurdity of the arms race counts more than any political argument.

The missile opponents rightly ask whether it is to be left to new and more missiles to maintain peace.

The chasm will remain as long as there is no answer — a chasm between a movement that knows but one aim and politics that has to consider many aspects.

The struggle for the best road to peace concerns the nation as a whole, not only the demonstrators. What matters is the majority view.

If the missiles are deployed — certainly more slowly and in smaller numbers than originally planned — German political stability will be put to the test.

The important thing at that point would be to know what the majority wants: rejection of deployment or an acceptance that would certainly be no more than lukewarm.

Until then, the struggle over public opinion will grow fiercer. *Friede, Friede über alles* will remain the theme for the moment.

But it is up to everybody to prevent this peace from turning into strife.

The movement must continue to urge its followers to remain peaceful. The government must guard against both smugness and hysterical toughness.

And the Social Democrats, whose chairman, Willy Brandt, is due to address the Bonn demonstrators at the climax of their drive, must appeal to their commonsense.

It will soon be known whether the effort was worthwhile. There are many days left to this autumn. *Dieter Buhl*

(Die Zeit, 21 October 1983)

Government not keeping us informed — SPD

There is growing annoyance among senior Social Democrats, who accuse the government of not keeping them fully informed.

Against this background, Chancellor Helmut Kohl and the SPD parliamentary leader, Hans-Jochen Vogel, are to hold private talks, their first in five months.

The main topics are likely to be the possibility of limited political cooperation between government and Opposition on the deployment of new nuclear missiles; and economic and social issues.

Leaders of the SPD parliamentary group are clearly disappointed over the chancellor's attitude towards the strongest Opposition party in the Bundestag.

They say Kohl has failed to deliver on his promise to treat the Opposition better than he himself was treated while on the Opposition benches.

"What he is doing is exactly the opposite," they say.

The fact is that Kohl's treatment by Helmut Schmidt left plenty of room for complaint. The self-assured SPD Chancellor often made a point of demonstratively snubbing the then Opposition leader.

He made it clear in public that he did not consider Kohl competent and did not regard him as a suitable discussion partner.

Relations between the Chancellor, voted in in March, and the new SPD parliamentary leader, Vogel, were not bad in the early days.

The relationship has worsened since then, and people close to Vogel say that "the information we receive from this government is totally inadequate."

Vogel says that the information on the Geneva talks he receives from the chief US negotiator Paul Nitze goes far beyond what he gets from his own government.

The SPD parliamentary group is particularly angry because that Kohl has not answered the letter in which Schmidt complained about Family Affairs Minister Heiner Geissler. Geissler had described the SPD as "Moscow's fifth column."

Talks between Kohl and the SPD that do take place are unsatisfactory, says the Opposition.

The SPD concedes that Kohl's tone is friendly and sometimes even cordial. It also concedes that he always has a bottle of good wine handy. But the opposition maintains that he avoids specifics.

The Chancellery denies this. It says that Kohl has not only talked with Vogel but also with Willy Brandt and with Egon Bahr.

It blames the problems with information on security matters on Vogel himself.

The Chancellery's contention is that Kohl offered to keep the SPD opposition leader informed but that there are things the Greens cannot be let in on.

It says that Vogel assumed a "somewhat stubborn air" and turned the offer down because the Greens were excluded.

Those around Kohl say that "the SPD receives ample official information, especially from the Foreign Office."

A Kohl confidant says: "This is what the chancellor wants."

Claus Wettermann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 October 1983)

Continued from page 2

[M]oscow expects it to means security [...]. The hegemon, or leader, can do [wh]at he likes in the area where he exer[cis]es hegemony.

He can do so without mobilising his [arm]ed forces and solely on the strength [of] the overwhelming power he wields in [hi]s hegemonial area, putting fear and [tre]mbling into all and sundry.

To achieve this objective the hegemon [mu]st have a power monopoly; there [mu]st be no nearby rivals. That is why [pu]shing the United States out of Europe [is] the crucial first step the Kremlin must [tak]e in the pursuit of hegemony.

It is also the main reason why I feel [that] talks of sending the GIs packing is a [gra]ve mistake. "Get the boys home" is a [wi]despread sentiment in the United Sta[tes] as it is.

If it were to get the upper hand and [Am]erica's constant upsets with Europe, [es]pecially with its major ally in Europe, [th]e Federal Republic of Germany, were [to] prompt the United States to pull out [of] Europe the Soviet Union would have [an] easy time of it.

As there is no such thing as a united [Eu]rope the Kremlin would no longer be [fa]ced by a counter-hegemon but merely [by] a dozen medium-sized Western European states that would knuckle under [to] Moscow's every wish.

They would naturally first protest, but [th]e Kremlin would not have to order as [mu]ch as a single Soviet tank to go on to [th]e attack.

In a Germany that was subject to So[vi]et hegemony the Germans would feel [as] happy as the Poles under General Ja[ru]zelski.

Klaus Mehnert

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 9 October 1983)

Economic performance under fire despite improvements

Chancellor Kohl's government is running into growing criticism over its economic policies. The criticism is not only from the Opposition.

Critics within the CDU say Kohl's economic policy so far has boiled down to letting things run their course and hoping that they will get better.

A non-partisan organisation, *Aktionsgemeinschaft soziale Marktwirtschaft* has criticised the conservatives for, among other things, lack of courage and political insight.

This dissatisfaction comes despite indications that the economy this year will grow by about one per cent, that inflation is rising more slowly than expected and that unemployment will turn out not to be quite so bad as forecast.

It is a criticism borne of unfulfilled hopes. Many people in industry are especially disappointed.

They say that the changes have been in foreign and internal affairs rather than socially and economically.

Business got a shock when, instead of getting relief they got hit.

Bonn put a surcharge on higher incomes and raised social security contributions, half of which are normally paid by the employer.

This was not what was expected from the "change" that has been widely talked about.

It must have come as a blow to Kohl when organised Catholic employers, of all people, said the conservatives were running the risk of losing public confidence.

They State election in Hesse indicates that the employers might be right. The CDU lost ground.

The mood thus seems to be worse than the situation, if one believes that even a one per cent growth rate is enough to bring about the "change".

But nobody does believe it, particularly the ministers involved, Count Otto Lambsdorff (Economic Affairs) and Gerhard Stoltenberg (Finance).

To overcome unemployment and consolidate the budget a more active policy is needed.

The chancellor will have to devote more attention to domestic than to foreign affairs.

Political experts agree: the fate of the centre-right government will be decided by its economic policy rather than the missiles issue.

Critics in the chancellor's own party say, however, that Kohl's economic policy so far has boiled down to letting things take their course and hoping that they will get better.

The fact is that the conservatives give the impression of being more concerned with compromises between their wings than with acute timely issues.

The CDU steering committee of the national executive meeting in the middle of the month made it more than obvious that there is a considerable dissension about what to do. *Peter J. Velte*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 19 October 1983)


Günther van Well ... goes to Washington


Hansjörg Kastl ... off to Moscow


Rüdiger von Wechmar ... from Rome to London


Klaus Blech ... Foreign Office post

Andreas Meyer-Landrut ... in Bonn

■ PEOPLE

Changing faces in the foreign affairs team

In a few months' time the upper echelons of Bonn's foreign service will have changed almost beyond recognition. Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher is planning a major reshuffle.

It will affect both state secretaries at the Foreign Office and, among others, Bonn's ambassadors in Washington, Moscow, Paris, London, Rome, Tokyo and the Vatican.

One significant change will take place at the beginning of next month when state secretary Berndt von Staden's job is taken over by Andreas Meyer-Landrut, Bonn's man in Moscow.

Herr von Staden was not due to retire until he was 65 next June, but he evidently wanted to step down at a time of his own choosing.

He is generally acknowledged as one of the most brilliant analysts in the German foreign service.

He will now be retiring after President Carstens' state visit to the USA, a climax of his work as coordinator of German-American relations.

At a recent conference of German ambassadors in Central America and the Caribbean held in San José, Costa Rica, participants and journalists covering the meeting were given a final display of von Staden's skill.

He brilliantly summarised the three days of talks in a speech that needed not a word changing; it could have been sent straight to the press, word for word.

Herr Meyer-Landrut, who at 54 is 10 years his junior, is well-known for his ready wit. His family come from the Baltic but at times he has the repartee of a Berliner.

He learnt Russian as a boy in Tallinn, later reading Slavonic studies, Eastern European history and sociology at university.

He served twice at the embassy in Moscow before returning as ambassador in 1980.

Herr Meyer-Landrut is now regarded as one of the best-qualified experts on the East, which the *Wall Street Journal* has suggested might make him too one-sided for a state secretary.

But it failed to give him credit for the versatility he has shown as a diplomat in Tokyo and in Africa and as head of department for the Third World at the Foreign Office in Bonn.

Herr Genscher has arranged with US Secretary of State George Shultz for the new state secretary to fly to Washington in November to confer with State Department officials on his experiences in Moscow.

His job at the Moscow embassy will be taken over by Hansjörg Kastl, 61, from Berlin, who has gained three years' experience in dealing with the ups and downs of Soviet tactics as head of the Bonn delegation to the Helsinki review conference in Madrid.

Herr Kastl has seen service in Paris, Buenos Aires, Asunción, Moscow, Washington and Brasilia. From 1963 to 1966 he was press secretary to CDU Foreign Minister Gerhard Schröder in Bonn.

When Herr Genscher told Mr Gromyko in Madrid this summer that Herr Kastl was going to be the next ambassador to Moscow the Soviet Foreign Minister seemed to be well-briefed on him.

His combination of considered determination, flexibility and toughness has earned him respect.

The ambassy in Washington is arguably more important still. When Peter Hermes leaves Washington to take over as ambassador to the Vatican his place will be taken by Günther van Well.

Herr van Well, 61, is felt to be the ideal man for the job. He has headed the German delegation at the UN in New York since 1981.

He was previously a long-serving state secretary and Foreign Office expert on the East Bloc and Berlin. Harvard-educated, he has excellent US connections and first-hand knowledge of East-West problems.

He demonstrated keen political sensitivity in a remarkable article on Berlin in *Europa-Archiv* in 1976.

Backed by Foreign Minister Genscher and keenly encouraged by Karl Carstens, then Opposition leader in the Bundestag, Herr van Well made a number of forthright political points.

His aim was to safeguard the position of the divided city in the face of constant Soviet attempts to soften up the West's stand. The Soviet leaders were not amused.

But Moscow still had to come to terms with him as a Bonn negotiator and at the United Nations in New York.

His job in New York will go to Hans Werner Lautenschlager, who is keen on the UN appointment. Herr Lautenschlager has been the other state secretary at the Foreign Office since 1979 and is acknowledged to have worked most efficiently.

He was born in Tientsin, China, in 1929 where his father was a diplomat. He has a reputation for being a hard worker with a conceptual talent.

In dealing with the Third World at the UN he will be able to put his comprehensive knowledge of foreign trade, energy, international monetary policy and North-South affairs to good use.

His job at the Foreign Office will go to Klaus Blech, who is currently ambassador in Tokyo. Herr Blech, 55, is a Stuttgart man of whom Herr Genscher thinks highly.

He has been a head of department, head of planning and CSCE negotiator. He combines thoroughness and a principled approach to problems cal imagination and negotiating

He speaks Japanese, Chinese and, like Herr van W a name for himself as head of and *Deutschlandpolitik* dep the Foreign Office.

Herr Genscher will also be to Bonn Jürgen Ruhfus, 53, ambassador in London. He has a reputation for making sily, for being knowledgeable his ability to hit on an ap phrase.

Like Herr Kastl he is a form spokesman for the Foreign Of served first in Geneva, Di Athens before being appointed sador to Kenya.

He was then an assistant head partment at the Foreign Offic being seconded to the Chancell fice under Helmut Schmidt, was head of the foreign policy ment. He is to be responsible Third World at the Foreign Offic

His place as ambassador in will be taken by Rüdiger von We who has enjoyed himself as amb in Rome since 1981 after a se stint at the UN.

His place in Italy will be taken thar Lahn, who has latterly be sponsible for cultural diplomacy tor increasingly hit by spending

Franz-Jochen Schöller will be from Brasilia to Paris. Many will remember his days as a head of protocol.

Herr Schöller studied at the ne so is sure to feel as at home as Herr Lahn, who is married to lian woman, will in Rome. *Bernt C*

(Die Welt, 10 Octo

Former mayor of Hamburg dies at 87

Herbert Weichmann, who has died at 87, was one of the grand old men of political life in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In Hamburg, where he was burgomaster from 1965 to 1971, he was dubbed the Prussian Hamburger, and not just because he hailed from the former Prussian province of Upper Silesia.

He earned this accolade by virtue of his combination of iron discipline, a Prussian characteristic on which he insisted, and an urbane and cosmopolitan outlook on which the Hanseatic ports pride themselves.

He remained to the last a tower of strength even though his life was far from plain sailing.

He studied law in Breslau, Frankfurt and Heidelberg, then worked as an economic affairs correspondent. In 1926 he was appointed as a judge in Breslau. In 1932/33 he served as personal assistant to Otto Braun, the Social Democratic Prussian Premier.

When the Nazis took over he was forced, as a Jew and Social Democrat, to emigrate, first to France, then to the United States.

In America, aged 44, he studied economics. On qualifying he set up in business as a tax counsellor in New York.

In 1948 he was persuaded by Social Democrat Max Brauer, Hamburg's first post-war mayor, to return to Germany. He served as president of the city's Audit Office.

In 1957 he was appointed Senator for Finance, and later mayor. These were the happiest years of his life. "Destiny," he said, "gave me an opportunity to develop all the talents that lay dormant in me."

His wife Elsbeth, who survives him, was an economics graduate and his mainstay. Asked what hobbies he had alongside administrative and political work, he often said: "My wife."

The Weichmanns were active, amusing and stimulating company to th A member of the Social Dem Party for over 50 years, he missed first SPD regional conference night before he died. *Thomas W*

(Mannheimer Morgen, 11 Octo


Herbert Weichmann ... refugee who returned. (Photos: Sven Simon 2, J. H. Darchinger 2, Bundesbild

SECURITY

Nuclear deterrence policy in a political crisis

's nuclear deterrence policy has a deep moral and political cri many parts of the Federal Repub s have grown that American nu weapons are a danger and not a on.

mood is still nowhere near being ential political majority. But it show that the reasons why Ameri re than 30 years ago brought tacti nuclear weapons to this country been forgotten.

is clear that the idea of nuclear de ce must be explained all over in both political and military-stra c terms.

any discussion about peace and one argument is certain to e at some stage. It is that Nato too many nuclear weapons and reduce the size of its field arsenal. means tactical nuclear weapons.

hat point appeares to have been ed. Defence ministers of the nu planning group (NPG) have been ing near Ottawa in their usual au get-together.

hey will have considered a report together by a group of high ranking ians and soldiers from various Nato ntries.

his report says that the number of ical nuclear warheads in Europe ld be reduced by a third.

Above all, the Dutch had made a nt of keeping the question on the when the Nato double decision being discussed in 1979.

he main motive was that Nato's de ce strategy might be called into sus ion for excessive reliance on nuclear pons.

ecause of the strength of feeling, erica agreed to withdraw 1,000 war ds from Europe. That was done long But the chance to win back some by this action was comprehensive-

Americans, obsessed with the , decided that the withdrawal pro with full coverage by radio and te ision at the same time as Russia was ching into Afghanistan would only the American public into think that President Carter was being too on Moscow.

erican nuclear weapons have been the inception of the alliance the inating element of the pact.

ere are more than 6,000 American field weapons in Western Eur including 4,000 in the Federal Re Western Europeans were not to acept them. They are a wanted of American guarantees in Eu

is a story that may sound ironic. the early days of alliance prepa the French Marshal de Lattre the almost anxious question of Washington's nuclear weapons available for operation if Western were attacked.

positive answer of the American ral Omar Bradley led General Beaufre to note later that this US taking justified joining Nato from ce's viewpoint.

from the beginning the contra ions between America and its Euro partners have grown. The prob has still to be solved.

The Europeans ruled out increas their conventional strength to the point where they would not be dependent on nuclear weapons against the Warsaw Pact forces, which are highly armed in conventional terms.

At the same time they wanted assurance that no nuclear war would be limited to Europe, and wanted the US to maintain its nuclear threat.

So America's nuclear weapons became a stopgap for the inability of Europeans to defend themselves either with nuclear or conventional means.

For the Soviet Union, this may have remained credible so long as America had a clear nuclear superiority. That time is long past.

Since the end of the 60s, Nato has followed a flexible strategy. Its essence is to have the means to defend against any aggressor tit for tat. This not a strategy to wage a nuclear war.

The role of nuclear weapons should be limited to both preventing any war, and to deterring the Soviets from using any of their many nuclear weapons.

So it is logical for Nato to make it clear that old nuclear battlefield weapons are no longer regarded as a stopgap for insuficient conventional defence.

It has long been suggested in American specialist literature that most of the about 2,150 nuclear howitzer grenades should be withdrawn. They have ranges of between 20 and 30 kilometres.

And with the planned modernisation of air defences — here the American system Patriot should replace nuclear Nike — many more nuclear warheads would become superfluous.

In addition, nuclear mines are so politically controversial that the alliance could only benefit by their removal.

The ministers at Ottawa have many possibilities to demonstrably reduce the number of field weapons. An experienced American observer, Lynn E. Davis, two years ago said that 2,400 could be pulled out.

At least as important as reducing the number of nuclear weapons themselves is certainly the explanation that in future the use of nuclear weapons to secure peace could not be avoided. Neither is modernisation.

The nuclear age is not yet a half century old. So it is still too early to answer the historically meaningful question of whether nuclear weapons can prevent conventional war. Up until now, they have appeared to have safeguarded peace.

Naturally, that is not their only achievement. But it shows that the understandable worry that we are at the mercy of these weapons.

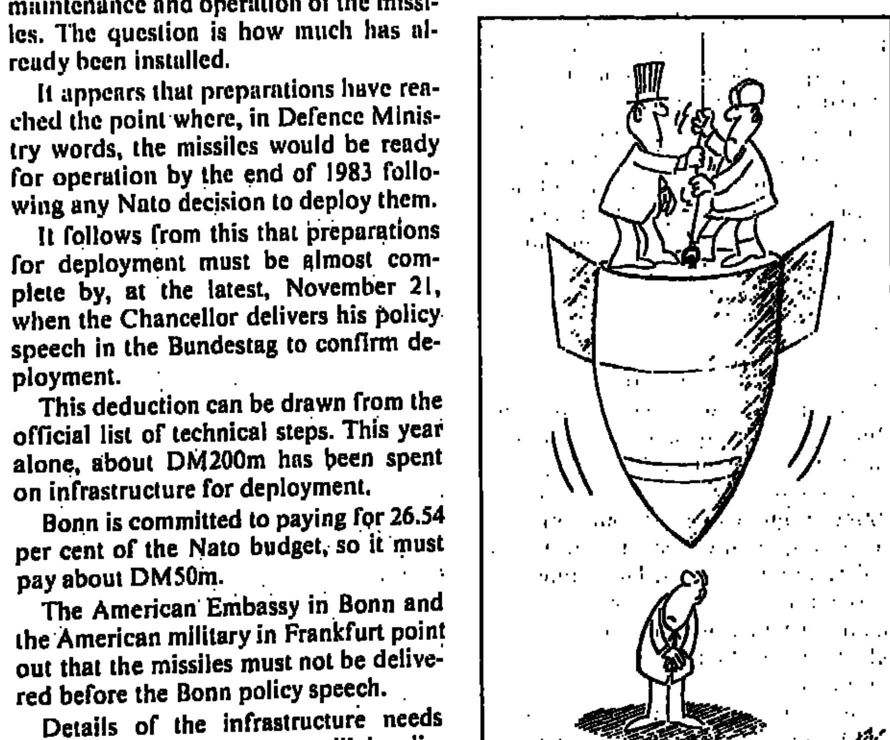
The ministers would be well advised to take up the challenge of the critics of nuclear deterrence and give a clear political answer.

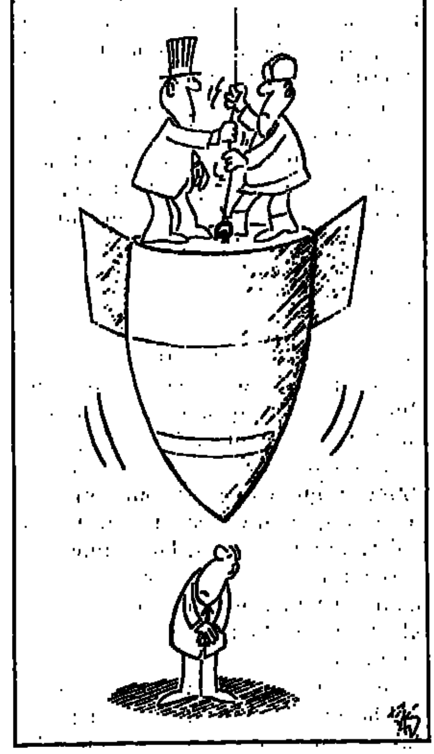
Walther Stützle

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 15 October 1983)

(Cartoons: Mitropoulos/Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)

The nuts and bolts of a missiles site





Defence Minister Manfred Wörner says rumours that Pershing missiles or parts of Pershing missiles have already been delivered to the Federal Republic are wrong.

What is in doubt is what stage the secondary arrangements have reached. That is, the wherewithal for the storing, maintenance and operation of the missiles. The question is how much has already been installed.

It appears that preparations have reached the point where, in Defence Ministry words, the missiles would be ready for operation by the end of 1983 following any Nato decision to deploy them.

It follows from this that preparations for deployment must be almost complete by, at the latest, November 21, when the Chancellor delivers his policy speech in the Bundestag to confirm deployment.

This deduction can be drawn from the official list of technical steps. This year alone, about DM200m has been spent on infrastructure for deployment.

Bonn is committed to paying for 26.54 per cent of the Nato budget, so it must pay about DM50m.

The American Embassy in Bonn and the American military in Frankfurt point out that the missiles must not be delivered before the Bonn policy speech.

Details of the infrastructure needs and backup arrangements will be discussed at the Nato winter conference in Brussels. That leaves only a few days for the technical operation.

But it will be achieved because in the meantime the mobile transport equipment and the automatic, electronic steering, safety and maintenance installations will have been delivered.

Old launching pads have been converted for the Pershing 2, whose range of about 2,000 kilometres is about three times as far as the Pershing 1.

All that, of course can't happen overnight. This leads one to think that the armaments element of the double decision has already been achieved before all the possibilities of the negotiations element have been exhausted.

Four years ago, opponents of deployment pointed out that in the run up to an absolute decision on the missiles, financial and technical commitments could result in military developments which might restrict the decision-making scope of the politicians.

The Ministry of Defence points out that special groups on both bilateral — between Germany and America — and Nato levels ensure a constant flow of information between the military and politicians.

This had particular merit in view of the fact that the Bonn government had no inspection or verification rights over American sites.

There are two bodies coordinating consultation: the Special Consultative Group and the High Level Group.

The most senior Bonn representatives are, at a bilateral level, special envoy Friedrich Ruth from the Foreign Office and Bundeswehr General Tandecki of the Defence Ministry.

In addition, the American Embassy points out that there is full agreement between the German and American positions.

Also, Bonn says, 1,000 nuclear tactical weapons have been withdrawn in accordance with conditions attaching to the Nato double decision.

However, that is considered far too few by opponents of deployment.

The state of preparations and political will in Bonn leaves no doubt about the intention of the West to go ahead with deployment. Nothing too spectacular can now be expected in Geneva.

If full deployment takes place, 108 Pershing 2 (all in the Federal Republic) and 464 cruise missiles (96 in the Federal Republic) will be installed. Where, exactly, is still being kept secret.

Spiegel magazine has said that Heilbronn, Mutlangen and Neu-Ulm are among the sites. So far, that has not been denied.

Rainer Bürchardt

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 16 October 1983)

■ INDUSTRY

Another energy crisis still to come, warns coal chief

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Another energy crisis has still to come, says Karlheinz Bund, chairman of the German Coal Mining Association and outgoing chief executive of Ruhrkohle AG.

At the annual coal conference in Essen, held on the eve of coal talks in Bonn, he outlined the coal industry's hopes, fears and expectations.

He still feels the mines will continue to play an important role as an energy and commodity supplier in the years ahead.

But the tale of two past oil crises lends Herr Bund's vision of a bright future for coal no more than moral support.

Domestic coal from the Ruhr and the Saar may suddenly have been cheaper than either oil or gas; but it won few industrial friends as a result.

Coal stockpiles have grown steadily since 1959 and, oddly enough, the growth rate has increased since the mid-1970s when, in the throes and aftermath of oil price rises, it might have been expected not to.

Stockpiles now stand at a record 36 million tonnes. Over the past 26 years they have averaged 17 million, since 1976, over 25 million tonnes, including statutory reserves.

Yet oil and gas have grown steadily more expensive. Coal is by no means cheap, and certainly not the local product, but in terms of thermal units oil and gas are now even dearer.

As a percentage of primary energy consumption oil's share has declined from 55 to 44, but coal's share has declined too.

The gap was bridged by energy-saving and by using natural gas and nuclear power instead. So even during the oil crisis justice was not done to the security provided by domestic coal supplies.

Reliance on imported energy has increased since 1974, paradoxically enough, and to make matters worse for the pits, the steel industry has been using less coal.

Steel and power stations have always been major coal customers, and the steel industry has been in the doldrums since 1975.

Still, in its case the decline in orders of coking coal to power steel furnaces can hardly be said to have come as a surprise.

Last year the steel industry bought 30 million tonnes of coal. That was roughly 7.5 million less than the year before, but in 1977 and 1978 the steelmakers took on 32 and 33.7 million tonnes respectively.

Herr Bund may be an incorrigible believer in the future of coal but even he admitted that capacity would have to be cut back.

So he was unable to come up with any convincing ideas as to how the Ruhr, Saar, Aachen and Ibbenbüren pits were to make ends meet.

The industry will continue to bank on power stations, and there can be little doubt that they will continue to play a crucial role in ensuring that German coal has a future.

Herr Bund called for coal's share of overall energy consumption (roughly a fifth and, as he put it, a reasonable and surely not exaggerated proportion) to be maintained as a statutory requirement.

In other words, there must be no changes in the tonnage of coal to be ordered by power stations until 1995 by the terms of the long-term contract with power utilities.

Domestic coal would still account for less than 30 per cent of power output, the percentage in which it is generally acknowledged to be most economic from the power stations' point of view.

Mining spokesmen say coal prices are unlikely to have an inflationary effect even if a partial stop is put to imports of cheaper foreign coal.

That, they say, would make electric power between three and 4.4 per cent dearer, and since energy accounted for a mere four per cent of industrial overheads and less than two per cent of household expenditure, this extra cost was unlikely to make too much difference.

The mining industry is banking on steel manufacturers keeping to the terms of their contract. It expects steelmakers to negotiate a new contract when the present one expires in 1988 to ensure long-term coal supplies.

In other words, the steel industry must continue to buy German and not import coal. Neither Bonn nor the steel industry will be too enthusiastic about that idea.

It would inevitably mean Bonn being expected to continue subsidising the difference in price between inexpensive imported coking coal and the dearer domestic product.

This subsidy can amount to as much as one billion deutschemarks a year, depending on the level of world market prices.

That is Bonn's worry. The steel industry's is that its share of the extra cost will continue to hit overheads, making it even less competitive than foreign steelmakers who don't have this extra cost factor to accommodate.

The only market in which the coal industry can hope to make headway is the heating market, in which oil, gas and electricity continue to command over 80 per cent.

Coal, like piped heating, has to be content with a mere seven per cent of the heating market.

In terms of heating costs and calorific values, converting heating units from oil to coal has long been a sound idea.

But the cost of conversion puts consumers off, coal spokesmen argue. They would like to see government subsidies to meet, say, 25 per cent of conversion costs.

They would encourage consumers to go ahead and use coal again. Government and local authorities ought also to set a good example and use coal-fired central heating.

By converting to coal they would use an extra five million tonnes a year.

Hopes of piped heating proving a bonanza for coal seem to have been dispelled. Klaus Botte of Saarberg Fernwärme, a piped heating company, estimates additional demand at between 2 and 2.5 million tonnes by 1991.

Current demand is a mere 1.9 million tonnes, but the extra is very little when compared with the slump in demand from the steel industry.

It is even less when viewed in the context of current coal outout of 90 million tonnes a year, which seems destined to be cut by between six and 10 million tonnes at the forthcoming Bonn talks.

The ups and down[s]

Domestic consumption (millions tons)

	1970	74	...
Domestic consumption (millions tons)	85.8	74.4	...
Proportion of total energy used in Germany in %	25.5	20.3	15.7 ...

1983 estimated

Yet coal remains depende[nt] ... public sector and on sectors ... influence, such as power utili[ties] ...

Shots in the arm can come ... of subsidies such as the ... electricity bills or investment ... paid shifts in which the mine[rs] ... work.

They can also take the shape ... lations such as import bans and ... centives.

The coal industry still doesn't ... self as a basket case, going ... vernment with cup in hand. "W[e] ... job to do as suppliers and a du[ty] ... as inexpensively as possible," ... Bund says.

"We are duty bound to play ... in the economy, just as the ... are committed to maintaining the ... German coal.

"The authorities have a com[mitment] ... to fulfill, and that is what the co[al industry] ... try and the economy as a whole ... them to do."

Leonhard Spi[...]

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 8 Oct[ober 1983])

Plans for steel merger are shelved

The outlook for the German steel industry goes from bad to worse. Now that plans to merge the steel divisions of Thyssen and Krupp have to all intents and purposes been abandoned the entire industry looks like facing collapse.

Plans to streamline the industry have failed all along the line, and new ideas and prospects are nowhere in evidence.

The steel industry is back where it was two years ago: considering reorganising. But conditions are worse, with three leading companies on the brink of financial disaster.

The reform proposals envisaged setting up two efficient groups. Thyssen and Krupp were to be merged to form a Rhine group, with Salzgitter, Klöckner and Hoesch forming a Ruhr group.

Negotiations among the prospective Rhine group companies got off to a good start, but it was soon clear that the Ruhr group was doomed to failure.

The three companies were too far apart: Salzgitter in Peine and Salzgitter, Klöckner in Bremen and Hoesch in Dortmund.

They felt the distance between them put them at a disadvantage in relation to Thyssen and Krupp, and after a few disputes their merger plan was shelved.

Each of the three is now trying to survive on its own, and staff are being laid off and works shut down in swift succession.

Worldwide surplus capacity bedevils the steel industry. In the Federal Republic of Germany about 60 million tonnes of steel a year could be manufactured, but only about 35 million can be sold.

Steel in the EEC

	Production as % of EEC output	Share of EEC handouts in % (mid 1980-beg. 1983)
Germany	32.0	6.6
Italy	21.7	11.1
France	16.7	34.7
Britain	12.0	29.0
Belgium	9.0	14.7
Others	7.9	3.9

So the industry has no choice but to retrench, and in principle there are three ways in which it could set about it:

● It could be left to marked forces, but subsidies falsify the true position. Companies that are financially weak but in some cases have the most advanced production facilities would be swept away.

● The government could lay down the law, ordering each company to cut production to a specified level. That would amount to nationalisation in ... name.

● Independent experts could de[vise] a concept combining mergers and ... nalisation to make the industry e[fficient]. The reform proposals of a ... years ago were a step in this dire[ction].

Bonn will not allow the first op[tion to] go ahead, and for good reasons. [The se]cond is ruled out on grounds of p[rinci]ple. The third seems destined to f[ounder] on the egoism of the companies co[ncern]ed.

What is left? At present is lo[oks as] though all German steelmakers are ... ing on going it alone.

If what happened in the case of ... Saarstahl is any indication, Bon[n will] continue to administer financial sh[ots in] the arm from time to time, perpe[tuating] an impossible state of affairs.

Now and again mention is ma[de of] the reform proposals, but the Arbed ... shows such warnings to be little ... than window dressing.

Roughly three billion deutsche[marks] of taxpayers' money has been p[umped] into Arbed to prevent a collapse of ... steel industry in the Saar, yet no[where] have plans been in sight.

Besides, companies that go it a[lone] seem sure to shed much more ... than would be necessary if sensible ... gers were agreed.

A ray of hope has reappeared. ... Ruhrstahl AG, a merger propo[sal of] Hoesch and Krupp, has been re[submit]ted. It could at least mark the beg[inning] of a solution to the problem.

Klaus-Peter J[...]

(Nordwest Zeitung, 15 Octo[ber 1983])

BUSINESS

[G]overnment's slowish haste on privatisation

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

[The] sooner Bonn privatises state-[own]ed companies and sharehold[ings the] better, some coalition members [of the] Bundestag would say.

[But] Finance Minister Gerhard Stol[tenber]g is determined to stick to the [straigh]t and narrow of a thorough and [system]atic approach to a complex issue. [No] decisions would be reached over [the h]eads of the people concerned, he [has repeat]edly repeated.

[It] is easy to understand why coalition [members] are so keen on privatisation. The [chan]ge of direction in government poli[cy co]uld be demonstrated strikingly by [sell]ing shares in some state-owned [com]pany or other.

[Bo]nn still holds a near-majority stake [in V]eba, the power conglomerate. It [coul]d quickly sell off some of its hold[ings.] It could also privatise state-owned [...]s.

[So]me such move would be tangible [evid]ence of the government's determi[nati]on to allow private enterprise great[er le]eway and to restrict public sector [activ]ities to the absolute minimum.

[Bu]t experts in the parliamentary par[ties] and at the Finance Ministry have [alrea]dy found out that privatisation, al[thou]gh basically an attractive issue, is [an u]nsuitable case for clarion call treat[ment].

[S]o it looks as though everything will [go a]head in its own good time, starting [next m]onth with the annual white paper [on B]onn government holdings.

[H]err Stoltenberg may take a first step [in th]e direction of privatisation late this [year o]r early next. He will then proba[bly o]utline details of privatisation plans [for t]he years ahead.

[Th]ey are unlikely to amount to a [spec]tacular wave of privatisation like [the] one Bonn launched over 30 years [ago.] There will be no visions of Ger[many] as a nation of shareholders.

[Ex]perience does not encourage a re[vival] of the *Volksaktie* concept of[fering shar]es for the common man. The time is [not r]ipe for a large-scale sell-out.

[So]me state-owned companies are [flour]ishing, but more aren't. There will [be n]o rush to buy shares in Saarberg[werk]e AG, the Saar Mining Co., or [Salz]gitter AG, the steel and shipbuild[ing gr]oup.

[Th]e Finance Ministry is taking good [care n]ot to as much as hint at the names [of li]kely candidates for privatisation.

But the government's shareholding in two or three leading companies could be reduced without difficulty.

Top of the list is Veba AG, the power and chemicals giant in which Bonn retains a 44-per-cent stake. The other 56 per cent is held by about 700,000 private shareholders.

Veba is reputed to be a sound commercial proposition and has no need of the additional safety ensured by a government shareholding.

So the government could readily reduce its stake, offering some stock to company staff as a token of its determination to encourage capital accumulation by the working man.

Another favourite for privatisation is Lufthansa, in which the government still holds a 75-per-cent stake. There is a widespread view that such a high percentage is unnecessary.

There are plans to increase the airline's capitalisation from DM900m to DM1,200m. If the government were not to increase its holding, its percentage would decline accordingly.

Then comes Volkswagen, which was largely privatised to a fanfare of publicity in 1961. But Bonn still holds 20 per cent of VW stock and could hive some off.

It would have to reach agreement with the *Land* government in Hanover, which also retains 20 per cent, and to amend legislation stipulating that dividends from these holdings must be remitted to the Volkswagen Foundation.

If these three were to start the ball rolling it would be no more than a modest start despite their size. Bonn directly and indirectly holds a stake in over 900 companies.

This figure includes corporations with special legal status, such as the railways and the Post Office, but it does not include holdings of less than 25 per cent of a company's stock.

They range from Salzgitter AG, in which Bonn holds a 100-per-cent stake, to the Presseclub-Wirtschafts-GmbH, or Press Club canteen in Bonn, in which it holds a DM10,000 stake.

Vereinigte Industrie-Unternehmungen AG, or VIAG, is a conglomerate with a turnover exceeding DM7bn. Smaller fry include Bundesanzeiger Verlagsgesellschaft, the publishers of the Federal Gazette, or the Deutsche Film- und Fernsehakademie GmbH in Berlin.

All these holdings make sound sense (or have done in the past). Changes will need to be given careful and detailed consideration.

Even keen privatisers are well aware that no-one is going to buy Salzgitter or Saarbergwerke and that the government cannot just leave them in the lurch.

Catastrophic regional unemployment would be an obvious consequence.

Yet the aim of privatisation cannot be to hive off flourishing units and retain problem cases.

The various divisions of the Salzgitter group by no means all come in one category. The Peine-Salzgitter steelworks and the Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft shipyards in Hamburg and Kiel are in the red; other companies are making good money.

The Bundesbahn is a notorious loss-maker, but Schenker & Co., the railways' road freight and forwarding subsidiary, makes a profit.

Asset strippers must take care to ensure that the operation does not end up by burdening only Bonn and what is left of the company.

The banks are a law unto themselves, especially the Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau, or Reconstruction Loan Credit Corporation, in Frankfurt.

The same could be said of the Deutsche Pfandbriefanstalt, a credit foncier corporation, and its fellow-mortgage and loan corporation the Deutsche Siedlungs- und Rentenbank.

All three can claim to perform special functions for the Federal government that cannot simply be taken over by private enterprise.

But the claim cannot be made with equal validity for them all. Privatisers will clearly sink their teeth into them sooner or later.

It needn't even be a matter of ideology to any great extent. There is a 1969 budgetary regulation stipulating that Bonn must only retain stakes in companies in specific circumstances.

There must be an important government interest at stake and the government's aim must not be capable of achievement better or more economically by any other means.

These provisions are laid down in Bonn government regulations. They are not just part of the election manifestoes of the Christian or Free Democrats.

Heinz Murmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 October 1983)

Stock markets ignore Gulf threat

Ayatollah Khomeini's threat to blockade the Persian Gulf if need be has dealt a blow to the upsurge of optimism on world stock markets.

But it hasn't made the slightest difference to the fundamentally positive outlook on the current stock market situation.

Bullish markets marked time this summer, but most bankers are confident the prospects of further gains have improved.

This presupposes a further reduction in interest rates soon in capital markets, a further decline in the dollar's exchange rate and further headway toward economic upturn in Germany.

Then, and then only, can forecasts of higher company profits come true.

Delbrück & Co., the Cologne bankers, feel the German share market has a backlog of roughly 20 per cent to make good before normal levels are reached.

But what shares stand the best chance of growth? Bankers' views differ on this point.

Stock market outsiders are often the companies that register the most spectacular gains, at least for a time. At the moment they certainly include AEG-Telefunken.

AEG, last year down to under DM30, is now back to DM83, a quotation that makes conservative brokers shake their heads in disbelief.

They have been no less surprised by the 20-per-cent increase in the price of Hoesch shares over a mere handful of days.

Talk of a golden autumn among jobbers refers not to speculative shares but to the overwhelming majority of blue chips.

Nearly all brokers recommend Siemens as a share that is still one of the cheapest in Germany in terms of its PE ratio.

They also say Daimler and Mercedes shares are good value at their present price, although Mercedes are preferred because Daimler shares are not felt to be worth DM75 more.

Schering, the pharmaceuticals firm, are also back in favour. Pride of place

Continued on page 8

■ THE WINE INDUSTRY

Consumers turn away from better German whites

Christ und Welt
Rheinischer Merkur

Changes in consumer patterns are forcing down the price of some of the better German wines.

Top quality wines like *Spätlese* and *Auslese* are no longer in demand. People want light wines officially designated *Qualitäts-* or *Kabinettweine* (quality or cabernet wines).

An example: the 1979 *Alsheimer Rheinblick Riesling Spätlese*, an outstanding wine, sells for DM5.09 in a Rhineland supermarket chain.

Yet this wine, which was awarded the silver medal of the Alzey Chamber of Agriculture, has no business being in a supermarket rummage basket.

It is a product of the Rappenhof estate in Alsheim near Worms (Rhine-Hesse).

The sizeable estate belongs to the president of the German Vintners Association, Reinhard Muth, who less than a year ago said that there could never be such a thing as "too much German wine."

Muth usually charges around DM8 for a *Riesling Spätlese*, which exceeds the prescribed *Spätlese* standards.

Yet Bonn and Cologne supermarkets can offer it for 30 per cent less.

But even at that price it is not selling well.

In demand is a gentle wine costing as little as DM3.98.

There are *Auslese* wines from Austria that are even cheaper.

What it amounts to is that what Alsheim vintners considers too cheap is seen as too expensive by customers in Cologne.

There is a split in the German wine market. Slightly more than half the output is sold in retail outlets, and the ratio is falling. The rest is sold directly from the estate.

The two markets have different customers, prices and wines. Estate wines cost about 50 per cent more than those sold in shops, but they are much better.

The public now goes for dry wines while the supermarkets stock only mild to sweet wines bought from major wholesalers. These wines only just meet minimum legal standards.

No vintner retailing his own product could afford to sell such low quality.

In the early 1970s, three-quarters of the wines sold by German shops were German. The rest was imported. The ratio is now almost exactly reversed.

The profitable trade with Moselle and Rhine wines has fizzled because supermarket chains says German wines have a few major disadvantages:

- There can be a wide variety of flavours under the same label. For instance: a *Bechtheimer Pilgerpfad* from Rhine-Hesse or a *Weingartner Trappenberg* from the Palatinate can be lovely, fruity or spicy depending on vintage, grape or cellar technology;
- There are large price fluctuations, depending on the harvest. The 1982 in bulk could be had for as little as DM0.45 a litre. The 1981 cost two-and-a-half times as much.
- There is too little advertising. Promotion averages 1.2 pfennigs a bottle. Compared with 10 times as much for the much cheaper Yugoslav *Kosovo*.
- The scandals over doctored Rhineland-Palatinate *Spätlese* wines have badly harmed the reputation of German wine.

Three years later, one in two customers still remembers the headlines, say opinion polls.

Until recently, German vintners were not particularly badly hit by the loss of market shares. There have been four poor harvests since 1977 and wine was in short supply.

But then came the record harvest of 1982 — not only in Germany but throughout Europe.

Germany's vintners produced well over 15 million hectolitres, twice what they could sell. Prices took a nosedive, and even the formerly expensive Franconian wine was sold at half its previous price.

The trade seized this opportunity to stock up and vintners' sales rose 16 per cent against 1982. At the same time, foreign wines lost market shares.

Germany's wine list

Figures show which vines are most common, ie, as a percentage of the total 96,876 ha of vineyards in the country.

Vine	%	Vine	%	Vine
Müller-Thurgau	25.7 %	Huxelrebe	1.7 %	Perle
Riesling	19.4	Gutedel	1.3	Regner
Silvaner	9.2	Ortega	1.2	Reichensteiner
Kerner	6.3	Müllerrebe (Schwarzriesling)	1.2	Schönburger
Scheurebe	4.4	Elbling	1.2	Siegerrebe
Blauer Spätburgunder	4.0	Auxerrois	Under 1 %	Roter Traminer
Bacchus	3.5	Weißer Burgunder		Würzer
Ruländer	3.5	Ehrenfelser		Dornfelder
Portugieser	3.2	Freisamer		Helfensteiner
Morio-Muskat	3.0	Kanzler		Heroldrebe
Faberrebe	2.3	Nobling		Blauer Limberger
Trollinger	2.1	Optima		

As it now turns out, the bonanza was a flash in the pan that had to be paid for dearly with price concessions.

The public is now back to buying foreign wines, and even the latest idea of German vintners to offer a product labelled *Landwein* (Country Wine) has proved a flop: Most Rhineland traders do not want to touch it, surveys show.

Heinz Christ of Cologne's *Weinparadies*: "German *Landwein* is not tested for quality. And for the same price I can get a tested *Qualitätswein* wine."

The consumer magazine *DM* tested white German and French country wines. Most of the German were poor.

Latest estimates put this year's harvest at 10 to 12 million hectolitres. This would make 1983 the second largest harvest in history, surpassing the 1982 bumper crop.

But half the 1982 vintage is still unsold and many vintners are short of cellar space for this year's vintage. To make matters worse, there is little demand for this oversupply.

Wine areas under cultivation are growing. The new vineyards are planted with such mass grapes as Müller-Thurgau, so there is no likelihood of a shortage of German wines.

Few wine executives are as far-sighted as Karl-Heinz Neiss, the chairman of the Rhineland-Palatinate wine promotion organisation.

He says: "We believe that the future market volume must no longer be governed by competition in terms of areas and price.

"It must depend on how much the consumer can absorb. The road to the future will therefore not be quantity but quality oriented."

That means: Make less wine but make it better.

Peter Espe

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 7 October 1983)

Stock market

Continued from page 7

used to be given to the three chemicals giants BASF, Bayer and Hoechst.

But Schering have a commanding position in the pharmaceuticals market and a growing role as manufacturers of pesticides.

So the share is felt to be a fine growth prospect. At DM360 it is still quoted at roughly DM20 below its previous peak.

Most banks have little to say about bank shares, although they do point out that banks would benefit from lower interest rates.

They would no longer need to write off losses on the market price of their holdings of fixed-interest bonds. Lower interest rates would boost demand for loans too.

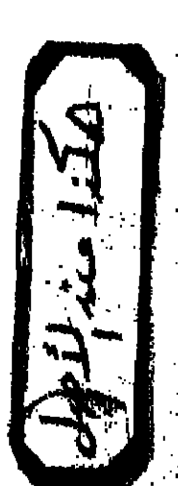
What the banks prefer not to mention is that the leading German banks will be burdened for years by their loans to developing, threshold and East Bloc countries.

These countries are no longer able to pay interest due on loans, let alone to guarantee punctual repayment of capital.

So the banks will have to write off substantial losses in the years ahead, and shareholders will feel the pinch.

Kurt Wendt

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 October 1983)



A bottle full of sparkling oenology ready to uncork

Germany's first six oenologists (oenology is the science of wine) have just received their academic diplomas.

The four-semester course on wine growing and oenology is offered by Giessen University in cooperation with the Research Centre of Viticulture, Horticulture, Beverage Technology and Cultivation in Geisenheim.

Applicants must have completed a course in "wine growing and cellar operation or beverage technology."

Unlike France and Italy, Germany has had no academic degree for vintners, cellar masters or beverage technicians, says Professor Egon Wöhlken, of the university's institute for agricultural policy and market research.

The new oenologists have better career prospects than non-graduate wine growers. The diploma is accepted abroad, giving them better chances to get work with international organisations.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 October 1983)

Record gra[…] harvests hit prices

Record grape harvests hav[…] collapse of prices for ne[…] Rhine-Hesse and Rhineland-P[…] Germany's largest wine-growi[…]

Wholesale prices have drop[…] between 75 pfennigs and a […] year to between 30 and 35 pfe[…] litre.

Otto Meyer, the Rhineland-P[…] Minister in charge of the wine[…] industry, says the whole ind[…] threatened.

Last year a record of 16 milli[…] litres of wine was produced. […] despite drought in the summer, […] is expected to be between 12 an[…] lion hectolitres.

Meyer says the market ca[…] more than 10 million hectolitres[…]

An added problem is that co[…] have been turning to foreign wi[…] means that much of last year's […] sold. It is taking up storage sp[…] there is no room for this year's […]

Some growers are storing the[…] wine in private swimming pools […] are not even bothering to har[…] grapes.

The trouble is, says Meyer, fu[…] tomated harvesting machines ar[…] in one day what a man once did […] days. More wine comes onto the […] more quickly.

Meyer and the German vintners[…] ciation have agreed to put a tem[…] ban on vineyard expansion and […] standards for new plantings.

The *Land* government has also […] ded to boost subsidies for addition[…] lar capacity. But Meyer said that […] the government would not stand […] in view of the crisis, it was up […] vintners themselves to provide the[…] storage. The vintners say […] help from the state capital in M[…] too late. The president of the Pal[…] winegrowers' association, Karl […] mann, says October was too late fo[…] to set up new cellar storage.

He also blames the vintners th[…] selves. They should have taken […] advice and formed cooperatives to […] bat the "disastrous effects of the […] market."

Günter Holle[…]

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 Octo[…])

■ SPACE RESEARCH

Halley's Comet hightails it round the circuit again

Frankfurter
Neue Presse

Some scientists believe Halley's Comet is the Star of David. If they are right, Christ must have been born in 10 BC.

Giotto, who saw the comet in 1301 and perpetuated it in his Paduan fresco, would be vindicated.

When it returned in 66 AD, Josephus Flavius, the Jewish historian, saw it as an evil omen presaging the destruction of the Temple, which occurred four years later.

Even in 1910 the comet's reappearance caused widespread panic among people who were afraid it might mean the end of the world was nigh.

It is next due to pass through the solar system in 1986, and in view of the political situation the superstitious could well again presage Armageddon.

Halley's Comet is definitely the most fascinating celestial bird of passage in terms of its influence on recorded history.

So it is hardly surprising that scientists plan to take a closer look at is this time.

West German scientists will be associated with a probe coordinated by the Keldysh Institute, Moscow, the Vega, to be launched on 20 December 1984 and followed for safety's sake by a duplicate space probe a fortnight later.

The Vega will skirt Venus en route to the comet. In June 1985 it is to send down a measuring device to probe the atmosphere and cloud surrounding our neighbouring planet.

In March 1986, after 440 days in space, it is due to make its first rendezvous with the comet.

If all goes well the Soviet space probe is likely to pass within 10,000km of the comet. It will take chemical and physical measurements.

The Vega project is a joint venture by nine states, including the Austrians, French and Germans in the West. It is not the only bid to take a closer look at Halley's Comet in 1986.

Nasa ran out of cash for its Halley Intercept Mission, but on 10 June 1985 Esa, the European Space Agency, plans to launch its space probe, the Giotto.

It too is planned to pass within 10,000km of the comet.

Halley's Comet has prompted the Japanese to make their first venture into outer space. Their Planet A is likewise planned to be in the vicinity in March 1986. But unlike thee other projects, Planet A will keep a respectful distance of 100,000km from the celestial body.

The Japanese probe will thus stay clear of the 50,000km-wide cloud of dust surrounding the comet's core, which is a mere 10km in diameter.

So the Japanese will not need to take precautions against dust damage that have caused headaches for the others.

The Soviet probe, Vega, will have a scientific payload of 130kg, making it the venture that seems most likely to supply revealing data.

In the hard radiation and photometry sectors two West German research institutes, with five programmes, are making a major contribution toward the Vega's scientific mission.

They are the Max Planck Aeronomy Institute, Lindau, and the Max Planck Nuclear Physics Institute, Heidelberg.

Their precision instruments will not just accompany the probe en route to Venus and Halley's Comet; they will also inaugurate aerospace cooperation between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR.

The legal status of this cooperation seems likely to be somewhat vague. There is a private agreement between Soviet scientists and the DFG, a scientific research association in Bonn.

But collaboration by the terms of this agreement is limited to projects below the balloon line, or no higher than 50 miles up in the stratosphere.

For projects elsewhere in space the Bonn Ministry of Research and Technology is responsible, and Bonn and Moscow have yet to come to terms on a scientific agreement because of differences of opinion on the status of Berlin.

So the Max Planck research scientists are in a kind of financial limbo that somehow befits such a far-out project.

The comet itself, recognised as a regular visitor by Sir Edmund Halley in 1682, is unlikely to be disturbed in its 76-year orbit by theese problems between Bonn and Moscow.

It was probably first spotted by the Chinese 2,450 years ago and has since been recorded 29 times. The comet seems to be growing tired of being gazed at from planet Earth.

In two years' time, when it greets the Sun in the course of its elliptical orbit, it will no longer be visible to the naked eye despite a tail ten million kilometres long.

Wilfried Schäfer

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 11 October 1983)

Europe's Ariane rocket makes commercially crucial lift-off

After a delay of more than a month the Ariane rocket has been successfully launched for the seventh time from Kourou, French Guiana.

It put into orbit an Intelsat communication satellite. But blast-off this time was not delayed because of difficulties with the launcher rocket.

It was requested by Intelsat for a last-minute check on satellite systems.

For some time transmissions relayed on the L wave by another Intelsat satellite have suffered from interference. The L wave is used for maritime communications.

The Intelsat engineers wanted to make sure from the outset there would be no interference or atmospherics to trouble their latest satellite, the V-F7.

The Ariane launcher rocket has been more reliable than its reputation would lead one to imagine, although there unquestionably have been setbacks.

The first launching only succeeded at the second attempt on Christmas Eve 1979. The second and fifth launchings were failures.

But there have now been five successful blast-offs, which is by no means a poor track record when compared with US and Soviet rockets.

The European rocket can only be sure of a future if take-offs continue to be successful.

It is run by Arianespace, a manufacturing and marketing company set up in 1981 that will operate commercially from next year.

Esa, the European Space Agency, is still responsible for launchings, but the consortium already has 25 firm orders worth roughly DM1.7bn, plus over a dozen options.

There can, however, be no ruling out the possibility of a number of states preferring to cancel arrangements and pay the penalty.

They could prefer to pay and switch allegiance to the US space shuttle rather than entrust their satellites to a European launcher system they feel is unreliable.

Last May, for instance, the Exosat European X-ray satellite was launched on board a tried and trusted Thor Delta rocket instead of the Ariane.

Western Union has also cancelled an agreement with Esa because it felt the space shuttle would put its Westar 6 satellite into orbit sooner.

Esa feels these are mere exceptions and is not expecting there to be any further backsliding. The space shuttle is having trouble too.

Minor mishaps aside, space shuttle blast-offs have so far gone ahead according to schedule, but they alone are not enough to get satellites into the all-important geostationary orbit at an altitude of 36,000km.

A booster rocket is needed. The Americans have devised the IUS, or inertial upper stage, to handle this part of the operation.

There was a failure last April when the IUS was due to put the TDRS data transmission satellite into geostationary orbit.

Several space shuttle launchings were then cancelled, which gave the Ariane a substantial boost.

Confidence in the European launcher rocket is fairly high. Intelsat has entrusted to Ariane the last three of its nine Intelsat V satellites.

Intelsat V-F7 is to be followed by F-F8 toward the end of the year and V-F9 early in the New Year.

Pricing was an important argument in Ariane's favour. The first six Intelsat V satellites were launched between the end of 1980 and last May by Atlas Centaur rockets.

The improved version of the Intelsat, the VA, will be launched by Atlas Centaur again, but only because Ariane cannot offer the capacity.

At take-off Intelsat V satellites weigh 1,870kg, which the Ariane can handle. The VA will be too heavy at 2,140kg.

It will take the Ariane 2, an improved version of the current rocket, to put the heavier satellite into geostationary orbit.

Günter Paul

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 18 October 1983)

Germany's first astronaut forced to wait

Stuttgart physicist Ulf Merbold, 42, Germany's first astronaut-to-be, was most disappointed at the postponement of the space shuttle Columbia's blast-off scheduled for 28 October.

He was named mission specialist for the European Spacelab, to be sent into orbit from on board the Columbia.

But Nasa's postponement decision was, he said, sensible. He could but hope that the next take-off deadline for Spacelab's maiden mission would yield even more useful scientific information than had been expected of the October deadline.

DFVLR, the German Aerospace Research Institute in Porz, near Cologne, has also been notified by Nasa of the change of plan.

It was here that Merbold underwent training in the Spacelab simulator.

DFVLR's Wolfgang Hasenclever mentioned the postponement at a press conference held to mark a visit by Sally K. Ride and her fellow-astronaut Frederick H. Hauck.

Nasa seems not to have succeeded yet in dealing with damage that nearly caused an accident during the late-August mission of the space shuttle Challenger.

Professor Feuerbach of the Space Simulation Institute said the mission had been only seconds away from a tricky situation.

During take-off the jet casing of the starboard engine of the launcher rocket burnt out to within a few millimetres. Only 14 seconds separated the end of ignition and the total burn-out of the jet. If the casing had burnt out faster forward propulsion would have taken lateral effect. Challenger would have started pitching and tossing and been forced to make an emergency landing.

With this near-mishap in mind Nasa had decided on Cologne-Bonn airport as a possible emergency landing strip for future Challenger and Columbia missions.

It has a runway four kilometres (2.5 miles) long and is ideally suited for an early emergency landing when the space shuttle is on a course at an angle of 57 degrees to the equator.

Two new deadlines are under consideration for the ninth space shuttle mission. The first is on 28 November, when astronomical conditions are ideal for space work.

But to meet this deadline a new and untried propulsion system would need to be installed in the Columbia's launcher rocket.

...Herr Hasenclever said Nasa staff and the designated Columbia commanding officer John W. Young were considering whether the risk could be taken.

But Nasa usually opted for the safer option, which would mean delaying the mission until next February when conditions were next ideal.

Sally Ride and Frederick H. Hauck, who took part in the seventh space shuttle mission last June, were not prepared to comment.

The US astronauts, who were in Cologne on a tour of eight European countries, said they were not well enough briefed to voice an opinion on the postponement.

But they said there was no reason to doubt the quality of US space technology.

Christopher Brügelmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 14 October 1983)

■ FRANKFURT BOOK FAIR

After religion, preparation for the Year of Orwell

Mannheimer MORGEN

The Frankfurt book fair has not been the same since it began highlighting a special topic every second year.

Last year the special topic was religion, and there were many special exhibits and events dealing with it.

This year, being an in-between year, is devoted to books. Publishers have been able to concentrate on literary output without being distracted by extraneous considerations.

Next year, there will be another extraneous consideration. Being 1984, the special topic will be Orwell 2000. It promises to be an eventful subject. This year's fair showed that the countdown for next year has already begun.

The precursors of a new era were unmistakably in evidence at the exhibition grounds, with construction machinery at the ready between the halls to start work on a new look.

The initial outline of what the new-look exhibition grounds will look like is already apparent. Hall 9, complete with restaurants and parking for about 800 cars, is in use. Work on Hall 4 will soon be completed.

The western entrance to the exhibition grounds has been transferred to Hall 9, with access from Theodor-Heuss-Allee.

A new gallery also links Halls 9 and 5 at this point. Hall 9 is a gigantic glass structure designed by architect Oswald Matthias Ungers.

Its light-flooded interior courtyard and white circular arches and staircases are the most striking features of these structural changes.

They are part of a light, playful, almost carefree future and anything but a product of the pessimistic age predicted by George Orwell.

It will be interesting to see what next year will bring from the organisational viewpoint, given that the book fair will extend mainly from the railway crossings to the Festhalle.

As exhibition grounds director Peter Weidhaas put it, long marches will probably no longer be necessary. The fair's slogan is, after all, "the short cut to the international book market."

In content as well as form, fresh sights have been set for 1984. Existing technical and social trends are to be exammined with a view to the further shape they may take.

Debates wil be held on the new media, information colonialism and the dangers of large-scale technology.

Well-known scientists and writers are to take part in drawing up the programme. They will include futurologist Robert Jungk and scientist Wilhelm Steinmüller.

Bearing in mind what seems likely to be published over and above the normal output next year, 1984 will probably break all records.

The shades of Orwell are very much in evidence. But maybe 1984 will be taken as an apportunity for a long, hard look at the relationship between print and the new media.

In contrast to the shape of things to come, this year's book fair created a distinctly modest impression.

"At first glance," Herr Weidhaas said, "the statistics of the 35th Frankfurt book fair will have little that is a new to offer to regular visitors."

The number of publishers represented was up to 5,890 from 5,688. The number of titles on exhibit was up to 298,000 from 295,000.

But, as he pointed out, the dry-as-dust figures in the statistics concealed trends and realignments.

The number of countries represented was undeniably down: from 88 to 77. The increase in the number of exhibitors was due exclusively to the fact that many more German publishers than before were at Frankfurt.

The 11 countries fewer was attributed to the overall international economic situation that had made it increasingly difficult for small countries and emerging publishing nations to plough scarce foreign exchange into taking part in the Frankfurt book fair.

Both nationally and internationally the economic situation of the book trade may well be far from good, but there are no signs of the crisis widely forecast in 1981.

In making this point Günther Christiansen, chairman of the German Booksellers' Association, attributed to interest shown by private customers the two-per-cent nominal increase in turnover last year.

But he also noted that trade profits were 0.3 per cent in the red. Spending cuts by public libraries would, he felt, hit publishers of lowbrow literature and not just the more experimental companies.

If he is right, highbrow publishers will need to be even more attentive to what Ivo Frenzel, the new chief executive of the Econ publishing group, has termed "tending the list."

Smaller publishers have for years shown that new categories of reader can be reached by means of special, committed lists in which writers are not just regarded as merchandise.

The increasing number of smaller and medium-sized publishers exhibiting at Frankfurt these days is surely a sign that they are keen to advertise for themselves and their ideas.

Eight Berlin publishers had an idea of their own. They shared a larger stand in a bid to break the bounds of pigeonholing and create a less cramped market place.

Does this mark the start of competition with the larger publishing houses by means of new ideas?

Herr Christiansen did not confine his remarks to balance sheets and poor profits. He also dealt with the freedom of literature and its dissemination.

Police raids

He mentioned recent police raids in Munich, where copies of Anais Nin's *The Delta of Venus* and books by Nancy Friday were confiscated.

"We are going to resist such arbitrary moves," he said. "The freedom of literature guaranteed by the constitution is too important to allow unqualified people to browse through books and reach decisions on the boundaries of literary freedom."

Were the police raids a foretaste of Big Brother? The 1983 book fair almost seemed to have been overtaken by the special topic scheduled for next year.

The issue was discussed in connection with a special display arranged by the publishers affected. It will need discussing in the run-up to 1984 in general.

(Mannheimer Morgen, 13 October 1983)

Mammon looks to Christma[s]

A record 5,890 exhibitors fr[om] … countries took part in the Frankfurt book fair. There were … visitors compared with 173,0… year. Foreign publishers did exp… well. Surveys by the organisers … that publishing foreign books … cence is internationally much m… tensive than last year.

German publishers also did bu[siness] … siness with foreign books. They … timistic about trade in general, a… pect Christmas business to be good.

Last year the German book … went through recession. This year … different. Orders have been heavy … although some publishers at Fra… swiftly filled order books and … order second printings, the fair wa… most of the bigger houses, not … in commercial terms.

Small publishers, however, … to use the fair as a market place … don't have many salesmen.

There were clearly more books … this year. This could be due to the … tical ideas provided by the huge … tion on show and to the growing … for person to person discussions … publishers.

One seller described it as an att… to "overcome the growing speechl… ness between publishers and the tra…

The 1982 fair was changed to en… the software, video and tape indus… to take part.

But the old-fashioned book … triumphs over all newcomers to … media market.

The fair has made traditional pu… shers optimistic in their assessment … the competition from the new media.

But competition with the new m… and new technology will become st… next year when the fair's theme wi… Orwell 2000.

(Handelsblatt, 18 Octobe[r 1983])

The new media get in their antenna's worth

There was an unmistakable trend toward the new media at this year's Frankfurt book fair: marginal, perhaps, but keenly noted by the initiated.

The end of the printed word is not yet nigh, but changes are inevitable.

Much of modern technology involves word and picture storage.

But some innovations do seem more like novelties in the sense of playthings. The Bertelsmann talking book is arguably one of them.

The Twentieth Century in Word, Picture and Sound is the first. It consists of a dozen sheets of foil on which half a dozen recordings each have been pressed.

Each sheet comes with a text commentary and a typical illustration. There are to be four volumes, one each per decade.

Getting the book to talk is easy. It comes with a phonobox, a kind of miniature record player, into which the sheet is inserted.

A miniature pick-up rotates on the underside of the foil, following the grooves. After a few crackles you hear the deep and sonorous voice of Elmar Gunsch.

His commentary accompanies events ranging from the Nuremberg war crimes tribunal to the competition between the superpowers to explore outer space.

Langenscheidt, the dictionary publishers, have published a translation computer that looks like a pocket calculator.

Called the Alpha 8, it took five years to develop and translates from English and French into German and vice-versa.

"The first generation devices came up with some hilarious attempts at translation," says Dr Anton Schmuck, head of Langenscheidt's electronics department.

The results were often absolute nonsense. But not any longer. Dr Schmuck, a linguist and mathematician, is the man whose brainchild the Alpha 8 is.

The English and French editions will shortly be joined by devices that translate Italian and Spanish, providing vocabulary ranging from autobahn toll to paprika sausage.

Latin too will soon be available. The Alpha 8 retrieves 4,000 pairs of words in a fraction of a second by means of electronic paging.

There is a test key that prints out vocabulary for the learner to try and translate and then supplies the answers so he can see whether he got it right.

There is also a memo key that ma… an electronic note of the words the u… finds difficult.

The Alpha has a 256-bit capacity … prints out on its little screen the vari… meanings when there is a choice, … parts of strong and irregular verbs … any other points to be noted.

The device is only nine millimet… thick and runs 640 hours on a single s… of batteries. It is manufactured … Osaka, where an electronic diction… runs off the assembly line every four se… conds.

A Stuttgart publisher, DRW, becko… to readers with the third dimensio… Fascinating Nature in 3D is the title … the first book using what is claimed … be a revolutionary technique. Compil… by Christoph Koschnitzke, Rainer Me… nert and Dr Peter Quick, it features su… perb colour photos.

The book comes with a prismatic ste… reo viewer so sophisticated that it achie… ves three-dimensional quality of a kind … previously seen only in polarised 3D … projection.

Animals, plants and minerals jump … straight at you, providing large-size 3D … pictures with first-rate contrast and … focus hailed by university staff.

Interior design, aircraft constructio… and the depiction of molecular stru… ture are the next topics the three au… thors are to deal with.

Dieter Thierbach

(Die Welt, 13 October 1983)

■ LITERATURE

Manès Sperber, the sceptical moralist, awarded book trade's peace prize

The German book trade's peace prize has been awarded to Manès Sperber, the French author who won the 1975 Büchner Prize.

Sperber long not only shared but suffered the political consequences of the revolutionary idea: The world cannot stay as it is. We must reshape it.

He abandoned this idea when he summoned the courage to live without illusions.

His trilogy *Wie eine Träne im Ozean* (1961) and his three memoir volumes (1974-77) demonstrate this.

To see through man, baring both his insignificance and his greatness, has never prevented Sperber from loving him.

The sceptical moralist has always rejected violence, dogmatism and totalitarian solutions. And his rejection has always been convincing through his own unusual life.

A Zionist Jew, communist and emigrant, he was personally deeply involved in the struggle of the century, thus witnessing its mistakes. He lent transparency to the events that led to Statin and Hitler.

The sobering confession of a man who was both accomplice and victim, seduced by the "grand designs," serves as a lesson to the younger generation and hence as a contribution to peace.

Today, he is a fighter for the end of all dictatorships and the recognition of man's fragmentary existence.

Revolutionaries who promise us "absolute happiness" are "wanderers into a void," he says.

He was born in Eastern Galicia, then part of the Austrian Empire, in 1905, the son of a rabbi. He grew up in a strictly orthodox home.

As a 10-year-old he and his parents were forced to flee to Vienna where he went to high school and was soon regarded as something of a genius.

When he was 15, Sperber met the renegade Freud disciple Alfred Adler, the founder of individual psychology. He became Adler's youngest pupil.

His wanted to emigrate to Palestine but was unable to because of a lung disease.

Sperber was only 19 when he lectured on individual psychology and treated difficult cases of disturbed children assigned to him by Adler.

He regarded psychology as applied knowledge of human nature.

He joined post-World War 1 revolutionary movements, was a Zionist and sympathiser of the communist youth movement. In 1927, Sperber joined the Communist Party, which led to a breakdown of his friendship with Adlet.

In 1970 *Alfred Adler oder Das Elend der Psychologie,* which became one of the standard works on Adler, was published.

The young Sperber's *weltanschauung* was moulded by Marx, Spengler and Nietzsche — an explosive blend.

At one point, Adler sent his disciple to Berlin where Sperber taught at the Marxist Workers' School together with Wilhelm Reich.

The peace prize laureate depicts this hectic era in his memoir volume *Die vergebliche Warnung* (1975).

In 1933, Sperber was arrested by the Nazis and deported to Vienna. It was then that he decided to emigrate and settle in Paris, where he has lived ever since.

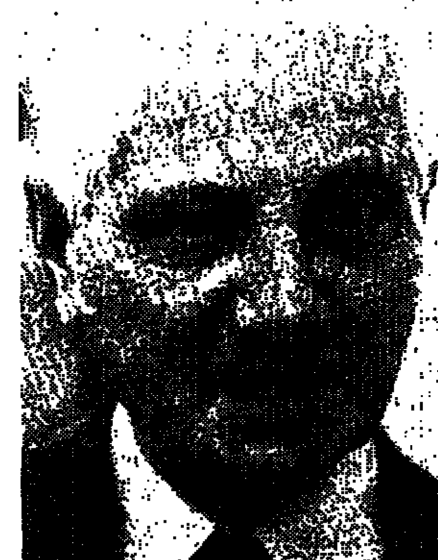
The Stalinist show trials made him leave the Commuist Party in 1937. In the Second World War, he fought with the French.

Adler advised him not to publish the novels he wrote in his early years and Sperber took the advice because he wanted to be taken seriously as a psychologist.

Since 1940, however, he has been delving into his own past, writing the history of communist idealists in the anti-fascist resistance.

The first volume, *Der verbrannte Dornbusch,* was published in Paris in 1949, starting the trilogy *Wie eine Träne im Ozean* that earned him world fame.

Arthur Koestler called this monumental novel the "saga of the Comintern". But Sperber's work is significant beyond this purely historical aspect.



Manès Sperber . . . a fighter.
(Photo: Sven Simon)

What he described was the tragic and inevitable foundering of the "beautiful theory" on hard facts.

Essay volumes like *Leben in dieser Zeit* (1972), *Churban oder Die unfassbare Gewissheit* (1979) and *Zur alltäglichen Weltgeschichte* (1981) demonstrate his change to a sceptical and deeply humane view of life.

He views history as an eternal and futile homecoming — resembling a river that absorbs everything before dissipating itself in the ocean.

In his acceptance speech for the Büchner Prize eight years ago, Manès Sperber said that the writer "writes to make the misery of his time bearable."

Wolfgang Schirmacher

(Mannheimer Morgen, 15 October 1983)



■ ENERGY

Hopes that recycling plant will hold key to using up nuclear waste

Bavarian MPs are considering plans to build a plant to regenerate spent nuclear fuel rods.

Nuclear planning permission has been applied for, and the Bonn government is working on the assumption that recycling of nuclear fuel is feasible.

If high-grade contaminated waste can be recycled and recycled until it is used up once and for all, then the problem of what to do with nuclear waste can be solved.

More nuclear power stations can then be built, and will only be built once waste can be disposed of. But is a solution in sight?

Fifteen nuclear power stations are currently in operation in the Federal Republic of Germany. Their installed capacity of 10,358 megawatts amounts to 17 per cent of power output.

Twelve more, with a capacity of 13,908 megawatts, are under construction. Eight, with a capacity of 10,547 megawatts, are still at the planning stage.

If everything were to go ahead according to plan nuclear power would account for roughly 40 per cent of electricity generated in the country by the end of the century.

‘Critics say nuclear power is like an airborne aircraft with nowhere to land’

There would also be 660 tonnes of nuclear waste, spent uranium rods, per annum.

The question mainly asked used to be whether nuclear power stations themselves were safe. It is now increasingly what to do with nuclear waste.

Critics have often compared the decision to develop nuclear power with a take-off, and an airborne plane, with nowhere to land.

In 1981, they say, several nuclear power stations nearly had to be shut down because at short notice the power companies that ran them were unable to comply with administrative court rulings.

The courts had ruled that they must prove they were in a position to satisfactorily dispose of the nuclear waste they produced.

German plans have been drawn up but so far exist only on paper, so in practice nuclear power stations rely on arrangements with France.

The French have a waste processing facility and intermediate storage arrangements at Cap La Hague, near Cherbourg, on the Atlantic coast.

They have helped German nuclear power station operators out of a tight spot, but the contract with Cogéma, the state-run company that runs La Hague, expires in 1990.

A spokesman for the French company has reiterated to German journalists that there can be no question of France agreeing to take delivery of German nuclear waste beyond 1990.

In Germany the Federal government is responsible for nuclear waste disposal. In 1974 it joined forces with industry and the nuclear research centres in Karlsruhe and Jülich to draw up plans.

Süddeutsche Zeitung

They envisaged all facilities being provided at a single location, Gorleben in Lower Saxony on the border with the GDR.

The facilities to be laid on at Gorleben were:

- intermediate storage of spent fuel rods;
- a processing plant to recycle them;
- a processing unit for plutonium; and
- treatment and permanent underground storage of nuclear waste.

Such were the plans, but in 1979 the government of Lower Saxony decided in response to protest by the general public that the project was politically impracticable.

Later that year the heads of government in Bonn and the *Länder* decided on decentralisation. Facilities were to be provided at various locations around the country.

Spent fuel rods are now to be stored for an initial year at the nuclear power station where they were used, then shipped to an intermediate storage facility.

They will there be stored for six years in special containers known as castors before being transferred to a nuclear fuel processing plant.

The fissile material recycled will be made up into new fuel rods. The lethal remainder will be packed for storage and taken to its final resting place.

The first intermediate storage facility with a capacity of 1,500 tonnes is under construction in Gorleben. It will cost an estimated DM80m to build.

It will take delivery of the first castors early in 1985. Gorleben is also to store 35,000 drums of low-grade contaminated waste, mostly from research laboratories and hospitals.

The storage depot for these drums is likely to be completed by the end of this year.

Another storage facility for spent fuel rods is planned in Ahaus, near Münster, Westphalia. It will have the same capacity as Gorleben.

Planning permission was applied for on 15 November 1979 and the local authority says it has since been granted. It will take 18 months to build.

Ahaus will probably be operational by the beginning of 1987.

Two sites are still under consideration for a nuclear waste processing plant. It will cost an estimated DM4.1bn to build and will recycle spent fuel.

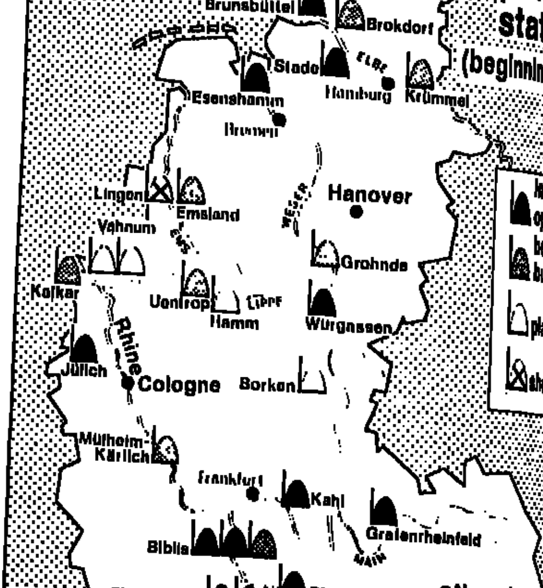
One is Wackersdorf in north-eastern Bavaria. The other is Dragahn in Lower Saxony, not far from Gorleben.

Planning permission has been applied for in respect of both sites, and the procedure is expected to have been completed by the end of next year.

Only then will we know where the plant is to be built and, indeed, whether it is to be built at all.

Current plans envisage construction work starting in 1985, with the plant being taken into service by 1992 at the latest.

That will be essential because the contracts with Cogéma will have run out and fresh nuclear waste will await treatment and disposal.



Gorleben is still envisaged as the final resting place for high-grade nuclear waste — even though no-one yet knows for sure whether the underground salt formations are a safe and suitable vault. Final scientific assessments of their suitability are not expected until 1992. Experts are currently working on the assumption that final storage will go ahead from the year 2003 or so. A final resting place for low-grade waste is also planned. A disused iron ore mine near Salzgitter is to be used. Planning permission has been applied for and storage is expected to start by 1988.

Another underground dump for low-grade waste could be laid on down a disused salt mine near Wolfenbüttel. A decision is to be reached by the end of this year on whether it will be needed.

This salt mine is already the final resting place of 125,000 drums of low-grade waste. Until 1978 it was used as an experimental dump.

The overall concept is blurred by a number of uncertain points, such as whether the Gorleben dump will be given the final go-ahead.

Besides, Bonn is not due to decide until the mid-1980s whether spent fuel rods are to be recycled or dumped for good. As international considerations are involved it is anyone's guess which way the decision will go.

There is a possibility of German nuclear waste continuing beyond 1990 to be processed in France. A Cogéma spokesman has admitted that another processing plant might be built, but serious consideration would not be given to the idea for another seven years or so.

‘Recycling or dumping — international factors complicate a final decision’

Germany is one of Cogéma's best customers. It pays billions of deutschemarks a year to have nuclear waste processed at La Hague.

Why should the French want to forfeit such a lucrative contract?

For the time being the German authorities have no intention of banking on this possibility. At DWK, the Bonn government agency entrusted with building and running nuclear waste processing plant, plans are going ahead regardless.

In view of the ruling by the heads of government in Bonn and the *Länder* DWK is working on the assumption that waste processing facilities will be required in Germany from 1992 for sure.

This, it is felt, will be the case even if the authorities decide to dump spent fuel rods rather than recycle them.

If that happens, about half the output of nuclear waste, which turn of the century will be roug tonnes of uranium, will be dumpe

But the other half will continue recycled, so one processing pla still be required. Where will it be With two sites under conside DWK is caught in a cleft stick.

Early next year it aims to go f either Wackersdorf or Dragahn. ning permission procedures will st in progress, so it may turn out to backed the wrong horse.

The decision is made none the by the fact that both *Länder*, Ba and Lower Saxony, are keen to c the contract.

Jobs are what interest them: 11,000 during the seven years of c truction and a permanent opera staff of 1,600.

Besides, investment in the facil expected to total DM10.4bn or so.

DWK is busy reviewing its op with a view not to upset either sta vernment. The one that isn't awa the main contract will be rewarded another nuclear facility.

It could, for instance, be the pla which nuclear waste is sealed drums prior to final disposal, espec if Bonn gives preference to this optio

But what is to be done with the tium-contaminated water that is a product of nuclear waste process This is an issue that has yet to be ra in public and no-one has yet come with the answer.

It could be sealed in cement blo and shipped to Gorleben as a final ting place. It could also be piped porous subterranean strata.

That is a waste disposal techniq widely used in the oil industry, b no-one has practical experience of tium-contaminated water disposed of this way.

At DBE, another government agen entrusted with building and running clear waste dumps, staff are work hard on plans for a pilot project.

But details of where it might be bu have yet to be disclosed.

Christian Schneider

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 Octobe

MEDICINE

Rheumatism's huge toll in treatment costs and lost production

DIE ZEIT

wenty million Germans suffer from heumatism, a disorder the Greek osopher Empedocles (490-430 BC) buted to "demons created by flux."

e symptoms date back even fur. They are as old as the human skea. Sufferers are plagued by crippl pains in the joints.

e no longer believe in demons, but Greek name remains. "Rheuma" is derived from *rheumatismos*, i.e. harge.

o million of Germany's 20 million erers are bedridden or in wheels. Outpatient treatment costs an ual DM4.2bn, and hospitalisation her DM2.2bn.

e president of the German rheusm association, Hanna Neumeister, rheumatism costs the German economy between DM35bn and DM45bn a r, including lost production because sence from work.

is would suggest that it is the most nsive disease in the world.

espite this, research has been some neglected. Not enough money has n set aside, probably because it still the reputation of an old woman's ase.

ut many victims are young. Most under 40 and every year 700 infants affected.

here have been a number of rerch projects which have not got beyond the planning stage. Now the association has launched a nation-wide drive to draw attention to the disease and try and get the research off the ground.

Considering the lack of basic research, it is not surprising that causes remain largely unidentified. There are still about 300 disorders that doctors lump together under the heading of rheumatism.

But some insights have been gained. It has now been established that chronic poly-arthritis (in which joints are destroyed by inflammation) is caused by an immunological system gone haywire.

Blood has been found to contain antibodies that, in a sort of biological civil war, fight against the body's own tissue.

In the normal course, the antibodies have a policing function against bacteria, viruses and other invaders. But in patients with chronic poly-arthritis they attack the blood vessels in the joint capsule, causing inflammation.

Scientists know very little about what stops the antibodies differentiating between friend and foe.

Researchers at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) put the blame on the Epstein Barr virus of the herpes family.

Their theory has it that following an infection the virus seeks a haven in the very cells that usually mobilise the attack on invaders.

When, for reasons unknown, the virus becomes active again, it puts the delicate regulating mechanism of the immunological system out of kilter, causing it to produce antibodies against itself.

This view is supported by the fact that such antibodies were found in 60 per cent of people with chronic poly-arthritis.

Doctors treating regular rheumatism have now also adopted the antibody theory. According to latest findings, drugs like prostaglandines retard inflammation. But they cannot in the long run stop the destruction of the joints.

After years of research, Professor Hans-Georg Fassbender might have come up with an answer.

The head of the rheumatism centre in Mainz which closely cooperates with the World Health Organisation (WHO), has analysed more than 18,000 tissue specimens.

He is convinced that, contrary to assumption, it is not inflammation that destroys the joints, but the interior of the joint capsule where malignant, tumour-like cells have been found on top of the inflammation.

They invade the cartilage and multiply. The cartilage is eventually destroyed through a special enzyme. The invaders attack even the bones of the joint.

But unlike with true cancer cells, the aggressors in this case do not get any blood supply, which makes most of them die after a few days. A small number continue to live and form scar tissue. These aggressive cells keep regenerating to continue the destructive work on bone and cartilage.

Professor Fassbender's findings are in line with new treatment methods in the USA.

Wisconsin medical school doctors treated several patients with a number of potent drugs given simultaneously. The first suppressed the immune reaction, the second — a cancer drug — retarded cell division and the third was anti-malarial.

A member of the American Arthritis Foundation, Frederic McDuffie, says the results are excellent. But he recommends this treatment only for patients who do not respond to other therapies.

"We don't know at what point the destructive cells start their work," says Professor Fassbender.

If doctors knew this they could selectively use potent drugs with side effects to combat any malignant cell activity.

What makes diagnosis even more difficult is the fact that many bacterial and viral infections produce symptoms similar to poly-arthritis.

The medical journal *Selecta* reported about a specialists' meeting that dealt only with pseudo-rheumatism. Salmonella and German measles viruses can also cause joint inflammation. But unlike poly-arthritis, this can be treated with antibiotics.

Heredity also seems to play a significant role in joint disorders. A typical example here is *morbus Bechterev*, a rheumatic disorder that leads to a stiffening of the spinal column: 90 to 95 per cent of Bechterev patients have a special gene that, together with other genetic information, accounts for certain cell surface structures. Only six per cent of the population have this particular gene.

But it is still unknown whether this genetic factor causes the disorder.

Most rheumatism patients have neither poly-arthritis nor morbus Bechterev. Their problem is simply wear and tear of the joints: constant strain leads to cartilage and joint damage as a person ages.

The ensuing inflammation is the consequence rather than the cause of the disorder.

Rheumatism seems to be every bit as tough a nut to crack as cancer. This is, of course, no consolation to crippled patients.

For the moment, pinpointing the disorder in time and continuous therapy can at least make life with rheumatism tolerable.

Barbara Hochberg

(Die Zeit, 14 October 1983)



Slowness of the feet deceives

Experiments have demonstrated to be wrong the widely held theory that alcohol in small quantities stimulates and revitalises.

Doctors at Krems, in Austria, injected 11 people with alcohol until the level in their blood was 0.06 per cent. Then they were made to ride on exercise bicycles.

Performances were worse than the same tests carried out sober. The 11 absorbed less oxygen and their hearts delivered less blood with every beat.

The doctors noted that despite the test results, the guinea pigs found it easier pedalling under the influence. *df*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 13 October 1983)

Court ruling forces change in student selection methods

State education ministers last month agreed on new admission procedures for medical students.

For the first time in Germany, professors of medicine will be able to pick 15 per cent of their students through interviews.

Regardless of Abitur (high school graduation) marks, 20 per cent of medical school places will require a waiting time during which the applicants will be expected to obtain credits through social work or the completion of a vocational training.

The entrance exams that have been required since 1980 will be extended. Ten per cent of available places will go to top performers in the exams.

The new admission provisions became necessary as a result of a 1977 Constitutional Court ruling.

The justices ruled that the old provisions were unconstitutional in the long run and called for a new system as soon as possible.

dpa

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 1 October 1983)

■ THE LAW

Imprisonment 'only breeds crime among the young,' say researchers

Imprisonment breeds crime among the young. Locking up 14-year-olds is useless. They probably have a better chance of going straight if they are not caught.

These at least are some of the findings by nine sociologists and criminologists in a book, *Jugendstrafe an Vierzehn- und Fünfzehnjährigen.* The nine reached their conclusions after tracing the lives of 200 boys in jail.

The book would shake the German judiciary if that were possible.

The law defines juvenile punishment as "incarceration in a juvenile correctional institution."

The only reason the book received any attention in Bonn on its publication earlier this year was that it coincided with the suicide by hanging of a 14-year-old Turk called Nafiz while he was in investigative custody.

The authors studied the sentences, interviewed guards and imprisoned juveniles, read the extensive literature on correctional institutions and analysed life histories — always keeping a critical eye on themselves.

They tried to answer the questions philosophers of law, juvenile court judges, prison guards, parents and open-minded prosecutors have posed time and again: does juvenile prison do any good? Can prison achieve what many take for granted, i.e. make the prisoner a useful and responsible member of society?

The questions are particularly relevant because the juvenile criminal code is the most sophisticated code of all. It gives the judge a great deal of latitude and provides him with a wide range of punishments.

Juvenile trials are not public. Juvenile court prosecutors, defence lawyers and judges are generally regarded as the most open-minded members of the judiciary who are not afraid to show mercy.

All this makes the well-founded answer arrived at by the authors the more shocking: "Prison terms for juveniles do not rehabilitate as intended by the lawmakers. Prison has its worst effect on its youngest and most defenceless inmates."

In other words: locking up 14-year-olds is demonstrably useless. There is enough evidence to show that imprisonment breeds crime.

The study shows what open-minded judges have long been saying to each other: youngsters who have been caught and locked up stand no better chance of becoming decent members of society than those who have managed to get away with it.

Juvenile delinquents who have been brought to trial (the law defines juveniles as people aged 14 to 18) stand a chance of rehabilitation only if the judge doesn't send them to prison.

Jail does not stop further crime — at least, no more than other punitive measures. Siegfried Lamneck of Munich concludes after analysing 1,220 criminal records that the most effective measure against a first offender aged 14 or 15 is to drop the case. Prolonged imprisonment is worst.

Lamneck says the idea that only the worst of juveile delinquents are locked up and that their relapse is not due to imprisonment but to their own destructive tendencies is false.

Even if this argument is followed through, there still remains the aim of the law which is to rehabilitate hard cases through imprisonment. But exactly this is not achieved, he says.

Imprisonment that has no positive effect is pointless, especially in view of the other courses open to the judge.

The misery and warping caused by imprisonment is described in another chapter.

Three of the authors, Joachim Kersten, Reinhard Kreissl and Christian von Wolffersdorff-Ehlert, interviewed the youngest inmates of five juvenile prisons.

Since the youngsters lacked warmth and solidarity at home, they sought it in the obscure hierarchy of violent gangs. Prison strengthened what the authors call "socialisation for jail." The net result was a depressing contrast between the rehabilitation aims and prison realities.

Lawyers must be particularly hard hit by what Reinhard Kreissl describes as "ending life to fit the logic of judiciary" in the judges' sentence summaries.

Through "ill defined legal strategy" the lawyers establish a link between reality and the formulations they hapen to need.

Lawyers must feel themselves caught red-handed on reading the sentence formulations. It is these that prevent the tracking down of the reality in which the accused has lived.

Kreissl also lists disturbing examples of unnecessarily stiff sentences.

The book shows that even the juvenile law is openly or covertly used to impose stiff sentences aimed at preventing youngsters from "causing difficulties."

Nobody asks these youngsters about the difficulties they *have*.

The "traditional imprisonment practice" makes "treatment" of juveniles a mere shell of a concept.

These accusations have been substantiated in the book and must be taken seriously.

The authors also have some suggestion. They point to alternatives that would be available if politicians and taxpayers would finally grasp that a sensible penal system, costly though it is, would save money in the longer run.

Even prison guards have repeatedly pointed to such possibilities as foster families, SOS Children's Villages, communes that would look after the youngster, open institutions and therapy.

"To take 14- and 15-year-olds out of prison we would need a range of social services outside prison walls."

The youngsters would have to be guided towards life within the law.

"If society lacks the courage to look at alternatives to meaningless imprisonment, today's 14- and 15-year-old prisoners will become the most dangerous criminals of tomorrow."

Hanno Kühnert

(Die Zeit, 7 October 1983)

Youth 'not as bad as reputation'

Young people are better than their reputation, says Bonn Youth Affairs Minister Heiner Geissler.

He was commenting on a survey in which over 2,000 young people (15- to 30-year-olds) were questioned.

The survey, commissioned by the Ministry, showed that young people had a high sense of values, a positive relationship with their parents, were against violence and reluctant to argue out and settle disputes.

But they also tended to lose touch with reality and were tempted by the dropout mentality.

They were found to be strongly in favour of harmony, keen on faithfulness, tenderness, care and attention.

They had a high degree of social commitment and showed a strong sense of understanding for the needs and wishes of older people.

As a result of their tendency to lose touch with reality, however, about half the young people polled were sympathetic toward alternative life styles.

But their political views are not alarming, Herr Geissler says. Young people showed no interest in either left- or right-wing extremist parties.

Most opposed gang violence. They favoured democratic government but felt politics was obscure and mysterious.

The repercussions of youth unemployment were a special problem. The authors of the report on the survey's findings felt the mental and social havoc of unemployment was still limited and rectifiable.

But it was time something was done. Unemployed youngsters were showing signs of a more wiedespread and fundamental pessimism.

They were also more inclined to resort to protest and to opt for alternative life styles. But no evidence was found to support suspicions that the unemployed might tend to turn to drugs or crime. The unemployed were, however, markedly unenthusiastic about foreign residents.

Heinz-Joachim Melder

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 14 October 1983)

Society helps Germans in foreign jails

German prisoners overseas are helped by *Bundeshilfswerk für Straffällige*, a prisoners' aid society in Bad Godesberg.

For 25 years it has helped prisoners at home and abroad, plus people on parole and next of kin.

It has a unpaid network of helpers in 22 countries. Most of them are members of local aid societies, Protestant and Catholic church communities and German embassies and consulates.

A recent example of help needed came from Lebanon. A letter from the German Embassy in Beirut to the Bonn Foreign Office described conditions:

Small, over-crowded cells full of vermin, inedible food, lack of hygiene and sanitation, lack of medical care and lack of exercise.

Three of the prisoners in East Beirut had to wait for their trials because it was holiday time for the courts. The letter described them as "suffering from diarrhoea, stomach cramps, vomiting, hair loss and headaches.

"The fourth, jailed in Jounieh, is plagued by pains in the knees and earaches. He receives no medical care."

The prisons were in a part of Lebanon controlled by the Christian militia.

"Both towns have repeatedly come under heavy Druze fire in the past few weeks. The prisoners' lives could be at risk."

The Foreign Office forwarded the letter to the *Bundeshilfswerk für Straffällige.*

The society provides material and other help for prisoners at home and abroad, released prisoners, those on probation and next-of-kin.

Hans-Jürgen Lehmann, a former prison social workers has headed the society for ten years.

The helpers visit prisoners and help where they can.

The society's work abroad began on a case-to-case basis. But word got around and inquiries started pouring into the five-man office.

The Yugoslav prison authorities asked for German books for their German prisoners. When the Bonn Justice Ministry was unwilling to pay, the society jumped in the breach. It has done so ever since.

Of the DM285,000 that went into assistance abroad between 1978 and 1982, more than DM35,000 was spent for German literature.

The Reverend Werner Weigelt, the society's chairman since 1976, says: "There was a time when publishers gave us their unsold stock. Today, we have to beg for discounts."

The society receives no public funds. It depends on donations and on fines earmarked for the purpose.

"We ask judges and prosecutors to think of us when imposing fines to contribute to with so many other social institutions."

The proceeds are meagre. But this does not stop the Foreign Office from asking the society to help prisoners abroad. The German Embassy in Prague, for example asked the society to pay for all food parcels consular officials take to prisoners on their first visits.

Once the German Embassy in Athens paid for the parcels given to prisoners there. But the society has now received a letter from a Korydallos men's prison social worker saying that Bonn does not any more.

Social workers also look after the physical well-being of prisoners, buying blankets for example.

In Rome, the society managed to enlist a German-speaking Italian lawyer to help Germans in trouble.

Unpaid members in France do more than just look after the 350 German prisoners in that country. If asked, they come to the first police hearing.

An old woman in the Ruhr whose son was imprisoned in East Germany received a monthly cheque to supplement her DM600 pension which was not enough to pay for visits and parcels.

The society has just received a letter of thanks from her. *F. W. Husemann*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 9 October 1983)

■ MODERN LIVING

Housekeeping centre advises where pfennigs can be saved

Hildegard Valentin, head of the National Housekeeping Centre in Bonn, is convinced the advice her bureau has given members of the public has prevented a fair number of marriages from breaking up.

It has certainly supplied advice for the past 25 years. Marital rows are often the consequence of cash running short, staff say, and they, the counsellors, are often consulted as an impartial authority.

The Bonn office plies 220 advice centres all over the country with material. Over the past quarter of a century 30 million brochures have been circulated among people who were unable to make ends meet.

The housekeeping centre has organised 46,000 lectures attended by 1.6 million people. "But many problems are so specific that individual advice is indispensable."

The centre was set up by the Savings Banks Association and a number of women's organisations, and more and more people are consulting it.

Last year the number of callers at the Bonn head office alone more than doubled to 1,859. They all wanted advice on how to balance the housekeeping budget.

"The husband is sacked," says counsellor Brigitte Krömer, "or the wife can no longer work to earn extra money, or there is no more overtime at work. That's when the family can no longer balance its budget."

Over one family in four that seeks advice in Bonn is in the red in this way. Some spend up to DM500 a month more than they earn.

Some make ends meet by maintaining an overdraft at the bank. Others keep withdrawing money from their savings accounts. But you can't do that for ever.

Many families used to take the view that a month in which they overspent would be offset later by somehow or other earning a little more.

Nowadays, with people no longer earning more in real terms, most have come to appreciate that this approach just doesn't work.

So many are prepared to cut back on expenditure that used to be taboo. Holidays or the car are no longer a must. Prestige considerations must be jettisoned if need be.

Young families seem particularly at a loss as to how to make ends meet. They don't have much money to spend because the husband is still climbing the career ladder and the wife can't go back to work yet because of the children.

But setting up a home is an expensive business, and the initial cost is the highest.

Two out of three clients in other instances are women, but young couples, usually call round together. Gone are the days, at least among the young, when husbands left it to the wife to cope with financial problems.

Most clients are families of three or four. Single-person households seldom ask for advice, but it is easy to see why.

If you live on your own you don't have to agree with anyone else on where outgoings in the family budget must be axed.

That makes it much easier than when the interests of several people need to be reconciled in retrenching family expenditure.

The first move in counselling is to itemise where the money goes at presents, and it seems that families on a low budget are by no means the only ones that fail to make ends meet.

On average younger clients have between DM2,000 and DM3,000 a month after tax. But a family that recently asked for advice was unable to balance a budget of over DM 10,000 a month.

The consellors, all women, say savings are mostly made in going to the pub, on buying gramophone records and visits to the hairdresser. Where food is concerned there is a plain but wholesome trend, which means that meat balls will do just as well as steaks. Parties are no longer as sumptuous as they used to be. Women are doing more knitting, sewing and home bottling of fruit, vegetables and preserves. As a last resort, families are advised to cut out pocket money entirely for a while — but for every member of the family, not just for mum!

Horst Zimmermann

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 10 October 1983)



New suit for an old man

Neanderthal Man gets a new suit. Klaus Beckmann, director of the Neanderthal Museum in Düsseldorf, applies the finishing touches to the apparel on a mock up of his museum's famous inmate. (Photo: AP)

Bavarian girl likes Spain

A 12-year-old Bavarian girl and her four-year-old brother have been found alive and well in south-west Spain after being missing for nearly seven weeks.

Alexandra Rackl and her brother Marc ran away from home in Sulzbürg, Bavaria, on 25 August. Their mother, Renate Therese Rackl, collected them in Merida, more than 1,100 miles away as the crow flies, on 11 October.

A Spanish woman who read about the case in a weekly magazine, *Semana*, recognised the children.

Alexandra is only 12 but looks like an adult. She used her mother's passport and encountered no difficulties either at borders or in hotels.

Marc looks older than four. She said he was her son. Alexandra had run away to Spain, the police said, because she was in love with the country.

She has run away to Spain before, in April, and told a colourful version of her story when questioned over the telephone.

She said she was not Alexandra Rackl at all. Her name was Maria Juana Alvarez and she was 21. Her parents were Spanish migrant workers, Juan and Mari Dolores Alvarez, in Freising, near Munich.

She and her son had spent five months in Spanish getting to know her native country.

She had had an affair with Alexandra's father for three or four months but had thrown him over because he was married.

She was often mistaken for Alexandra and had been pursued by Frau Rackl for three days.

On her return to Germany she would be going back to work at an animals' home in Freising. She had no intention of making life difficult for the Rackls.

Alexandra, 12, had been on Interpol's wanted list for weeks.

dpa

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 11 October 1983)

Priest hit boys

A Roman Catholic priest has been fined DM5,000 for boxing boys' ears at school. The priest, aged 49, teaches religious instruction at a school in Kitzingen, Bavaria.

He was found guilty of injuring young people in his charge by a Kitzingen youth court and fined for teaching methods that included not only boxing ears but also butting boys with his head.

dpa

(Der Tagesspiegel, 6 October 1983)

Hospital tells wrong family about father's death

Frankfurter Rundschau

A hospital in Neu-Ulm, Bavaria, is being sued for notifying the wrong family of a death. The son of the 58-year-old heart patient mistakenly reported dead says the whole affair has been a nightmare.

People are still ringing up to say how sorry they are to hear of his father's death. But that was nothing compared with the shock the mistakenly bereaved family had in hospital.

The family are suing the hospital for damages, including both the cost of buying black suits for the funeral and other preparations and compensation for the heartbreak caused by the mishap.

Hugo Burkhardt of Neu-Ulm district hospital says nothing of the kind has ever happened there before. It was most embarrassing and the hospital was extremely sorry.

It was due to the similarity of the names and overwork by hospital staff. The staff had notified the wife of a heart patient who was sick but still very much alive that her husband had died.

In reality the dead man was someone else. The "bereaved" family notified the relatives and called in an undertaker.

His son and daughter went to the hospital to identify him and collect his things. They were shocked to find him alive and glad to see them.

The son was shaken. The daughter, wearing black, was still outside in the corridor. When she heard her father's voice she collapsed.

The "dead" man's wife had been taken aback by the news of his "death" and found it hard to come to terms with the idea. The shock was arguably even worse when she discovered it had all been a mistake.

The "dead" man himself had no idea what was going on and has been most confused by the visits paid by relations from all over the place.

It just shouldn't happen, the son argues. He has briefed a lawyer to sue for damages. And the phone still keeps ringing as callers unwittingly rub salt in the wound.

dpa

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 October 1983)

Pants up, window down

Clambering through a girlfriend's bedroom window can be dangerous, a 25-year-old Frankfurt man has found.

It is a fairly widespread custom in Bavaria, but his attempt to popularise it further north nearly cost him his life.

It was night and he was drunk, according to the police. His girlfriend lives in a ground-floor flat and he pushed the shutters up and put his head through the window.

Then the shutters fell unexpectedly and he was trapped. He was lucky that a policeman happened to pass by and help him.

He was taken to hospital suffering from asphyxiation. *dpa*

(Kieler Nachrichten, 17 October 1983)